

FOLK-LORE

A QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF

MYTH, TRADITION, INSTITUTION, & CUSTOM

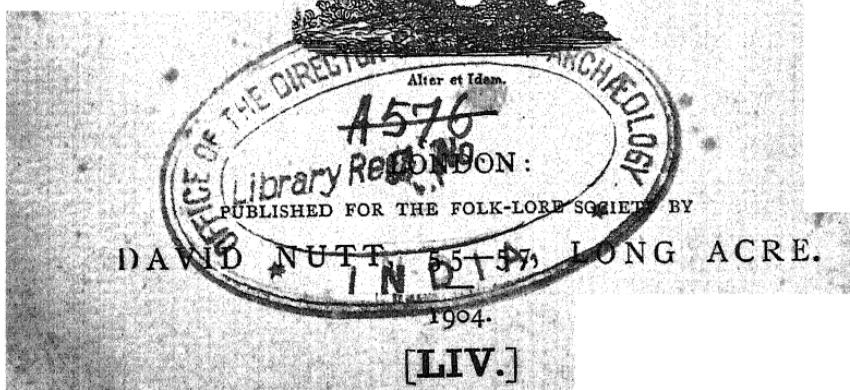
BEING

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And incorporating THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REVIEW and
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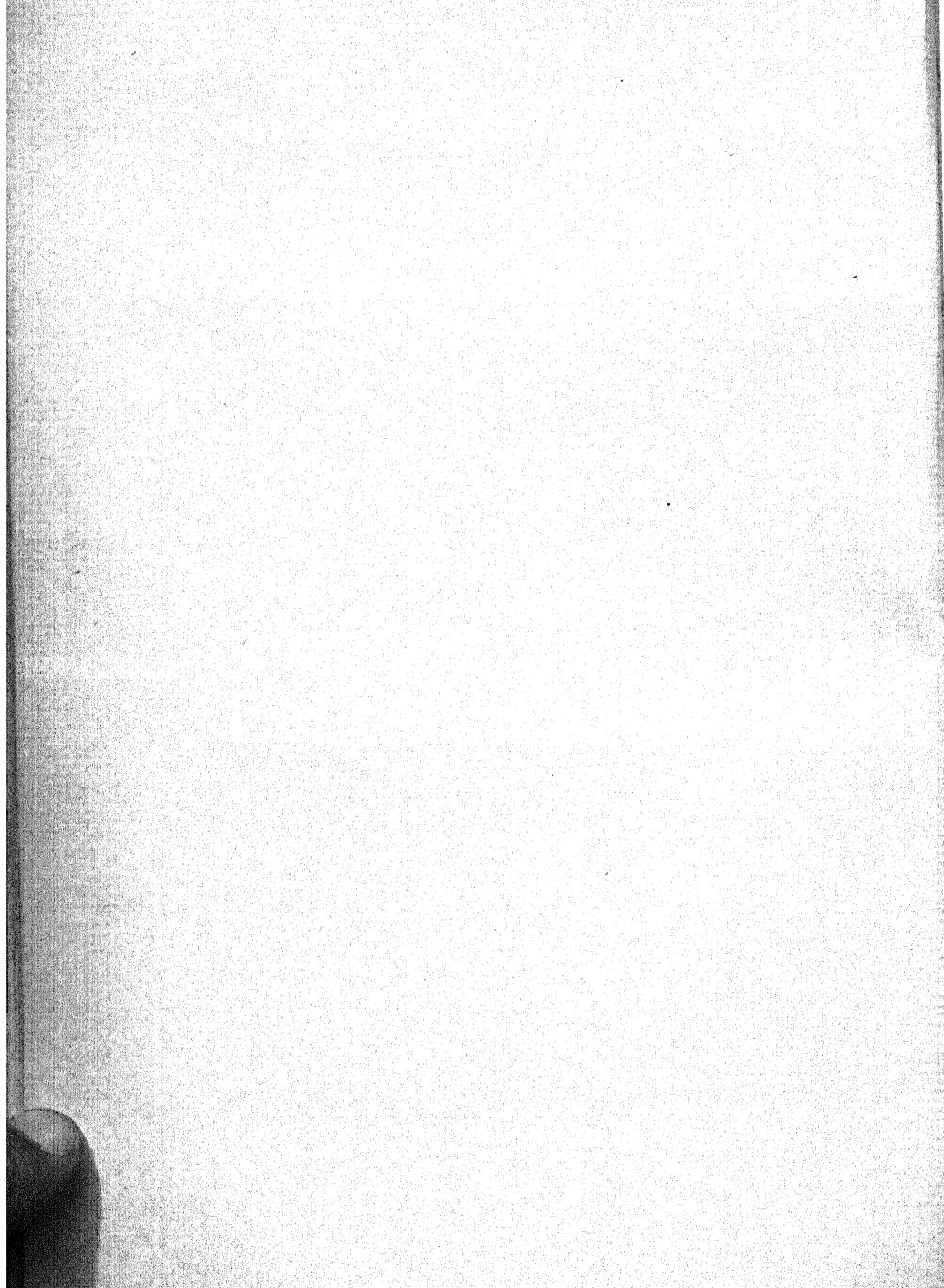
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ERRATA.

- Page 1, line 14, *for* 67 *read* 95.
Page 208, line 14, *for* If your lose you *read* If you lose your.
Page 234, line 24, *for* Keltic *read* Celtic.
Page 243, line 23, *for* Indices *read* Appendices.
Ibid., line 26, *for* Schweizerisches *read* Schweizerisches.
Ibid., line 27, *for* Volkskunde *read* Volkskunde.
Page 244, line 1, *for* Folkloke *read* Folklore.
Page 266, note 10, line 2, *for* Zeu *read* Zeus.
Page 335, line 11, *for* or *read* of.



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*As amended by Special General Meeting held on the
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I. "The Folk-Lore Society" has for its object the collection and publication of Popular Traditions, Legendary Ballads, Local Proverbial Sayings, Superstitions and Old Customs (British and Foreign), and all subjects relating thereto.

II. The Society shall consist of Members being subscribers to its funds of One Guinea annually, payable in advance on the 1st of January in each year.

III. A Member of the Society may at any time compound for future annual subscriptions by payment of Ten Guineas over and above the subscription for the current year.

IV. Every Member whose subscription shall not be in arrear shall be entitled to a copy of each of the ordinary works published by the Society.

V. Any Member who shall be one year in arrear of his subscription shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council shall otherwise determine.

VI. The affairs of the Society, including the election of Members, shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretary, and eighteen other Members. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancies in their number that may arise during their year of office.

VII. An Annual General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London at such time and place as the Council, from time to time may appoint. No Member whose subscription is in arrear shall be entitled to vote or take part in the proceedings or the Meeting.

VIII. At such Annual General Meeting all the Members of the Council shall retire from office, but shall be eligible for re-election.

IX. The accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be elected at the General Meeting.

X. The Council may elect as honorary Members persons distinguished in the study of Folklore, provided that the total number of such honorary Members shall not exceed twenty.

XI. The property of the Society shall be vested in three Trustees.

XII. The first Trustees shall be appointed at a Meeting convened for the purpose.

XIII. The office of Trustee shall be vacated (i.) by resignation in writing addressed to the Secretary, and (ii.) by removal at a Meeting of Members convened for the purpose.

XIV. The Meeting removing a Trustee shall appoint another in his place. Vacancies in the office arising by death or resignation shall be filled up by the Council.

XV. The Trustees shall act under the direction of the Council.

XVI. No Trustee shall be responsible for any loss arising to the Society from any cause other than his own wilful act or default.

XVII. No alteration shall be made in these Rules except at a Special General Meeting of the Society, to be convened by the Council or upon the requisition of at least five Members, who shall give fourteen days' notice of the change to be proposed which shall be in writing to the Secretary. The alteration proposed shall be approved by at least three-fourths of the Members present and voting at such Meeting.

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XV.]

MARCH, 1904.

[No. I.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18th, 1903.

THE PRESIDENT (Prof. York Powell) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the Cambridge Free Library, Mr. H. W. Poor, Miss Quaritch, Mr. A. W. Johnston, the Mercantile Library of Philadelphia, Miss Edith Carey, and Miss M. F. Hodgson as members of the Society was announced.

The death of Mr. W. D. Freshfield, and the resignations of Mrs. W. E. Price, the London Institution, Dr. O. Clark, Mrs. Philpot, Mr. W. J. Harding King, Mrs. Beer, Miss G. M. Godden, Dr. Karl Blind, and Mr. G. A. Grierson were also announced.

Mr. A. R. Wright exhibited and explained some Tibetan charms [figured on Plate II. and described on p. 67].

The Secretary, on behalf of Mr. H. R. H. Southam, Mayor of Shrewsbury, exhibited a soul-cake baked in Shrewsbury on All Souls' Day by a member of a family who had made them for many years past, upon which Miss Burne offered some observations.

Miss Burne read a short note on Guy Fawkes in London. [p. 106].

Miss Hull read a paper entitled "The Story of Deirdre, a Study in Folktale Development" [p. 24], and a discussion followed, in which Dr. Gaster, Mr. Nutt, and the President took part.

The meeting terminated with votes of thanks to the readers of papers and exhibitors of objects.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 17th, 1903.

THE PRESIDENT (Prof. York Powell) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Dr. A. S. Cuming, Mrs. Cartwright, Miss Marsden, Mr. Carey Drake, and the Michigan State Library as members of the Society was announced.

The resignations of Mr. O. Elton, Mr. J. Rogers Rees, and Mr. R. Blakeborough were also announced.

Miss E. M. Grafton exhibited a corn-baby from Harston, in Cambridgeshire [Plate III.], upon which Miss Burne offered some observations; and Mr. P. J. Heather exhibited some post-cards with photographs illustrative of marriage customs in Brittany.

The Chairman read a paper entitled "Some Folklore from Jerusalem" by Miss Goodrich Freer, and exhibited several objects illustrative of the paper, and presented by her to the Society, including a metal (silver) amulet, and a picture of Rachel's Tomb, with prayers encircling it, used as a charm;¹ on which Dr. Gaster offered some observations.

The Secretary, in the absence of Mr. Nutt through illness, read a translation made by himself of the fourteenth-century Latin MS. discovered by Professor Kittredge in the Bodleian Library upon which Mr. Nutt's promised paper on "Arthur and the Werwolf" was based [p. 40]; and a discussion followed, in which Dr. Gaster, Mr. Gomme, and the President took part.

The meeting terminated with votes of thanks to Miss Grafton, Miss Goodrich Freer, Mr. Heather, and Mr. Milne for their papers, exhibits, and presentations.

The following books and pamphlets which had been presented to the Society since the 24th June were laid upon the table, viz.:

Iowa Journal of History and Politics, October 1903, presented by the Iowa State Historical Society; *Biblio-*

¹ [These will be detailed and figured on Plate IV.]

graphie der vergleichenden Literatur geschichte, part i., by A. N. Jellinck, presented by the author; *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxxiii., by exchange; *The Scottish Historical Review*, No. 1, October 1903, presented by the Publishers; *Report of the Government Museum and Connemara Public Library*, 1902-3, presented by the Government of Madras; *Guernsey Folklore*, by Sir E. MacCulloch, presented by Mr. E. Clodd; *The American Antiquarian*, vol. xxv., No. 5, presented by the American Antiquarian Society; *Les Pastorales Basques*, by G. Hérelle, presented by the Author; *Matières pour l'Ethnologie ukraine-ruthéne*, vol. v., edited by Th. Volkor; *Portugalia*, vol. i., parts i. and iv., 1899-1903; *Report on the Restoration of Ancient Monuments at Anuradhapura, Ceylon*, by F. O. Oertel, presented by the Government of Ceylon.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20th, 1904.

THE 26th ANNUAL MEETING.

THE PRESIDENT (Prof. York Powell) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report, Statement of Accounts, and Balance Sheet for the year 1903 were duly presented, and upon the motion of Mr. Gomme, seconded by Mr. Nutt, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted.

Balloting papers for the election of President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Officers having been distributed, Mr. Longworth-Dames and Mr. Milne were nominated by the Chairman as scrutineers for the ballot.

Mr. R. Webb then exhibited and described a number of objects forming the kit of a Bondé medicine-man, from East Central Africa, for which he received a hearty vote of thanks [p. 68 and Plate I.].

The result of the ballot was then announced by the Chairman, and the following ladies and gentlemen who had been nominated by the Council were declared to have been duly elected, viz. :

As President : Professor York Powell, M.A., LL.D.

As Vice-Presidents : The Hon. John Abercromby, The Right Hon. Lord Avebury, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., E. W. Brabrook, Esq., C.B., F.S.A., Miss C. S. Burne, Edward Clodd, Esq., G. Laurence Gomme, Esq., F.S.A., A. C. Haddon, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., M.R.I.A., F.Z.A., E. S. Hartland, Esq., F.S.A., Andrew Lang, Esq., M.A., LL.D., Alfred Nutt, Esq., Professor J. Rhys, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., The Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce, M.A., LL.D., D.D., Professor E. B. Tylor, LL.D., F.R.S.

As Council : Miss Lucy Broadwood, W. Crooke, Esq., B.A., E. K. Chambers, Esq., M. Longworth Dames, Esq., F. T. Elworthy, Esq., Miss Eyre, J. G. Frazer, Esq., LL.D., &c., Miss M. Ffennell, Miss Goodrich Freer, Dr. Gaster, Miss Eleanor Hull, Professor W. P. Ker, M.A., E. Lovett, Esq., S. E. Bouverie Pusey, Esq., F.R.G.S., T. Fairman Ordish, Esq., F.S.A., W. H. D. Rouse, Esq., LL.D., Walter W. Skeat, Esq., C. J. Tabor, Esq., H. B. Wheatley, Esq., F.S.A., A. R. Wright, Esq.

As Hon. Treasurer : Edward Clodd, Esq.

As Hon. Auditors : F. G. Green, Esq., N. W. Thomas, Esq.

As Secretary : F. A. Milne, Esq., M.A.

The Chairman then delivered his Presidential Address, on "Tradition and its Conditions" [which will be found *in extenso* pp. 12-23], at the conclusion of which a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to him on the motion of Mr. Brabrook, seconded by Mr. Nutt.

On the motion of Dr. Gaster, seconded by Mr. Nutt, a vote of thanks was also accorded to Messrs. E. im Thurn, R. R. Marett, J. L. Myers, and C. G. Seligmann, the outgoing Members of Council.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF
THE COUNCIL.

20TH JANUARY, 1904.

The Council desire once again to urge upon all who have the welfare of the Society at heart to spare no efforts in enlisting recruits. If the work of the Society is to flourish it is essential that fresh blood should be continually introduced, and the Council look to the young and enthusiastic among the members of the Society to make its work known among their friends and acquaintances. Most useful work may also be done by inducing the trustees and managers of libraries and literary institutions to subscribe to the Society. Subscriptions such as these are of a more permanent character than those of private individuals. At present there are comparatively few public libraries upon the Society's roll; viz., 43 British, 14 foreign, and 38 American.

The Council regret to have to record the deaths during the year of Mr. W. D. Freshfield, and of M. Gaston Paris and Mr. C. G. Leland (Hans Breitmann), not only old and valued members of the Society, but to be reckoned among the foremost folklore students of the past century. Appreciations of the two last-named appeared in the pages of the June number of *Folk-Lore*.

The following meetings were held in the course of the year 1903, at which papers were read before the Society, viz.:—

Jan. 28. The President's Address. (*Folk-Lore*, March, 1903.)

Feb. 28. Selections from a monograph on *The Musquakie Indians*. Miss M. A. Owen. (The additional volume for 1902.)

March 25. "The Folklore of the Azores." Mr. M. Longworth Dames. (*Folk-Lore*, June, 1903.)

- April 22.* "The Fabric of the Dream." (A study of the *Midsummer's Night's Dream.*) Mr. I. Gollancz.
- May 27.* "On a MS. Collection of *Exempla* (Mediæval Preacher's Moral Tales) in the possession of the Society." Professor W. P. Ker. †
- June 24.* "Some Notes on the Habits and Folklore of the Natives of Roebuck Bay, Western Australia, communicated by Mrs. J. A. Peggs." Mr. C. J. Tabor. (*Folk-Lore*, December, 1903.)
- Nov. 18.* "Guy Fawkes in London." Miss Burne.
"The Story of Deirdre: a Study in Folktale Development." Miss E. Hull (*infra*, p. 23).
- Dec. 16.* "Some Folklore from Jerusalem." Miss A. Goodrich Freer.
"Arthur and Gorlagon :" a Translation of a Latin MS. of the 14th century discovered in the Bodleian Library by Professor Kittredge. Mr. F. A. Milne.

The April meeting was held at the Theatre of Burlington House, in conjunction with the London Shakespeare League.

The following objects have been exhibited at the meetings, viz.:—

- (1)* A selection of the Musquakie beadwork and costumes presented by Miss M. A. Owen to the Society. (2) A Basuto pound sterling—an amulet used among the Basuto and Baronga Tribes to expel internal evil spirits—and astragalus bones, shells, and stones used in divination. By Mons. H. Junod. (3) A collection of Chinese Charms. By A. R. Wright. (4)* A drawing of the Well House at Headington Wick, Oxfordshire. By Mr. W. H. Jewitt. (5)* An Uist bone bodkin; two sets of "chucks" from Applecross, Ross-shire; and a photograph of (i.) magic and witch stones from Sutherlandshire and (ii.) "fairy arrows" from Islay. By Dr. R. C. Maclagan. (6) A collection of weapons, fire sticks, charms, &c., from Mapoon, Cape Yorke Peninsula. By Mrs. M. M. Bankes. (7) A number of shields, swords, fighting-sticks, charms, ornaments and other objects illustrative of the habits and folklore of the natives of Roebuck Bay, Western Australia. By Mr. C. J. Tabor. (8) A collection of Tibetan charms. By Mr. A. R. Wright. (9)* A soul-cake baked in Shrewsbury on All Souls' Day, 1903. By Mr. H. R. H. Southam. (10)* A Cheshire "Corn-baby." By Miss E. M. Grafton. (11) Some post-cards illustrative of marriage customs in Brittany. By Mr. P. J. Heather. (12)* Some amulets and charms from Jerusalem. By Miss Goodrich Freer.

† This MS. has now (through arrangements kindly made by Dr. Ch. Bonnier) been collated with the Artois MS., and Professor Ker is at work on the text.

The objects marked with an asterisk have been presented to the Society, and either have been or will in due course be placed in the Society's case at the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge.

The number of objects exhibited contrasts favourably with the number exhibited in 1902, and the Council are much gratified that the suggestion thrown out in the last Report has been so well responded to. There can be no doubt that these exhibitions contribute in no small degree to the success of the meetings, and it is hoped that arrangements may be made to secure some exhibits at every meeting during the current session.

The attendance at the meetings has been uniformly good. At the Shakespeare meeting in April there were between 400 and 500 present, but on that occasion the majority belonged to other societies. It was thought that this meeting might have been the means of interesting a wide circle in the work of the Society, but the Council regret to say that it has not resulted in a single recruit.

The Council have no event of such interest to report as the visit to Oxford so kindly arranged for them by Mr. R. R. Marett in the autumn of 1902; but they would welcome any suggestion for holding an additional meeting at some convenient centre out of London during the year 1904.

The Lecture Committee has been unable to get on with its work since the issue of the last Report, owing to the difficulty of finding a successor to Mrs. Kate Lee; but that difficulty it is hoped may shortly be overcome. The Council are glad to announce that through the instrumentality of Dr. Haddon and Miss Eleanor Hull two courses of lectures on Folklore have been inaugurated in connection with the National Home Reading Union, one dealing with the subject from a general point of view, the other making a special study of Celtic Literature and Folklore. Thanks to the energy of Mr. E. Lovett, the Borough Council of Stepney have also formed a reading circle on Folklore, and on the 17th November Mr. Lovett gave an introductory address to

the members of the circle, some 35 in number. This is a new departure for which the Stepney Council are much to be commended, and there is no reason why similar reading circles should not be formed in other parts of London; if only a few other members of the Society were as energetic as Mr. Lovett.

The Society has issued during the year the fourteenth volume of its Transactions, *Folk-Lore*, and the Council's thanks are due to Miss Burne for the invaluable assistance she has so ungrudgingly rendered them in editing the volume. The Council have also again to thank Mr. A. R. Wright for the Index. With regard to the illustrations, the Council have decided not to place any particular limit on the expenditure to be incurred under this head. They feel that the Journal of the Society should be made as attractive as possible; and that the illustrations tend to make it attractive, there can be no doubt. So far therefore as the funds of the Society permit, and the subject-matter for illustrations can be secured, *Folklore* will in future be illustrated as copiously as possible.

The Society has also issued during the year the Orkney and Shetland collection of Folklore from printed sources, by Mr. G. F. Black, which is the extra volume for 1901. The circumstances which led to the delay in the publication of this volume were explained by the Council in their last Report. The additional volume promised for 1902 is Miss M. A. Owen's monograph on the Musquakie Indians (selections from which were read at the February meeting), with a descriptive catalogue of the collection of Musquakie beadwork and other objects presented by her to the Society. The publication of this volume has been delayed in order to enable Miss Owen to make some necessary additions to the catalogue. It is hoped, however, that the volume may be in the hands of members early in the year. As foreshadowed in the last Report, the additional volume for 1903 will be a collection of materials for the history of English Folk-Drama, edited by Mr. T.

Fairman Ordish, and based to a large extent upon contributions by members of the Society. Mr. Ordish has made good progress with the work, and it is hoped that it may be published in the course of the year. The Council have not yet finally decided what is to be the additional volume for the year 1904.

The work on the proposed Bibliography of Folklore is at a standstill, and the Council under the circumstances detailed in their last Report have not seen fit to reappoint the Bibliography Committee.

A considerable amount of matter was collected for the compilation of the Annual Bibliography of British Folklore, but Mr. A. R. Wright, who is kindly arranging the material, found so much verification and supplementing necessary, that he was unable, to his great disappointment, to complete it in time for this year's volume of *Folk-Lore* as intended. The best method of preparing this Bibliography is one of the most pressing matters now awaiting the consideration of the Council.

An effort was made to arouse greater interest in the meetings of the Anthropological Section of the British Association by sending notices of the meetings to all the members of the Society resident in Lancashire, Cheshire, and the Isle of Man, and urging them to attend. Southport, however, is difficult of access for many members; and it is feared that the Society was not represented by many attendances at the meetings, notwithstanding that Mr. E. S. Hartland was a Vice-President of the Anthropological Section, and other members of the Society took an active part in the proceedings of the Association. The Council would impress upon members the importance of the Society being well represented at these meetings.

The Council submit herewith the annual accounts and balance sheet duly audited, and the balloting list for the Council and officers for the ensuing year.

By order of the Council,

F. YORK POWELL,

President.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1903.

Annual Report of the Council.

RECEIPTS.		£	s.	d.
To Balance carried forward from 1902	...	96	19	4
" Subscriptions, 1904 (10) ...	610	10	0	
" " 1903 (342) ...	359	2	0	
" " 1902 (25) ...	26	5	0	
" " earlier years (8) ...	8	8	0	
" Sale of Publications, per Messrs. Nutt:	404	5	0	
First and Second Quarters,	35	15	7	
1902 ...	...		
Third and Fourth Quarters,	30	9	3	
1902 ...	...		
	66	4	10	
By Printing Account (Publications):—				
Messrs. Maclehoose & Co.				
County Folklore, Vol. iii Orkney and Shetland Islands)	69	13	0	
" Mr. N. W. Thomas—Arranging MSS. of Do.	10	0	0	
" Engraving Blocks, &c., for Illustrations	7	6	6	
" Postages, Despatch of Volumes, &c., Messrs.				
" Nutt (July, 1902—July, 1903) ...	50	13	10	
" Advertising (Messrs. Nutt), ...	4	4	0	
" Binding Account (Messrs. Simpson & Co.) ...	14	8	5	
" Hire of Meeting Room ...	8	8	0	
" Expenses of Evening Meetings—				
Advertising ...	£12	17	8	
Refreshments ...	3	9	10	
" Index of Archaeological Papers (A. Constable & Co.) ...	2	10	0	
" Subscription to Congress of Archaeological Societies ...	1	0	0	
" Expenses of Annual Bibliography ...	8	8	6	
" Secretary's Salary and Postage ...	57	7	6	
" Insurance of Books, &c. ...	0	5	6	
" Petty Cash Expenses, Secretary ...	£7	13	3	
" ditto Bank and other Dis- counts ...	1	6	9	
" Cash in hands of Secretary ...	9	0	0	
" Balance in Bank on Current Account ...	2	1	3	
£567	9	2		

Annual Report of the Council.

II

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER, 1903.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
Printing of Publications:-		Subscriptions for 1903 and earlier years	£42 0 0
<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. xiii., Part 4	... 56	outstanding ...	... 10 0
Vol. xiv., Parts 1 and 2	... 9	Less Subscriptions paid in advance ...	... 10 0
Vol. xiv., Parts 3 and 4 (say)	... 72		31 10 0
<i>The Musquakie Indians</i> , Miss Owen (say) ...	... 5	Messrs. Nutt (Sale of Publications) (say)	... 60 0
<i>History of the Folk-Drama</i> , Mr. T. F. Ordish (say) ...	... 5	Balance in Bank	... 305 5 8
Messrs. Nutt (wrapping and despatch of volumes, &c.) ...	... 0	The stock in hand, consisting of upwards of 2,000 volumes, is estimated to considerably more than	
Miscellaneous Printing (say) ...	... 0	exceed the difference of	... 3 7 2
Secretary's Poundage ...	... 0		
			£400 2 10

H. G. GREEN, *Auditor.*

EDWARD CLOUD, *Treasurer.*

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

TRADITION AND ITS CONDITIONS.

IT is tradition, *the oral handing on of oral knowledge*, that is the means by which the most of our folklore material has been, and is being, preserved. Tradition as a process deserves examination. We ought to know what are its conditions, its limits, its possibilities. Little has been done, as far as I know, to investigate these matters. They have been left vague. The Benthamite, content with citing Russian scandal, is wont to deny the possibility of accurate tradition at all. The credulous sentimentalist of the Bernard Burke kind will set no bounds to the process. It has been gravely argued that because one of the names of the star Seirios may be interpreted *the traverser*, there is in this title a remembrance of the time, more than thirty thousand years ago, when Seirios was crossing the Milky Way; which (as Euclid would say) is absurd. And yet there are materials for the more accurate determination of the scope of oral tradition, as I hope to show by certain examples.

Now it is first to be noted that in many unlettered, that is, in my sense, bookless, communities, there are special means, pieces of social machinery, devised and practical for the preservation of the knowledge of the events and culture of the past. What Cæsar tells us about the Druid school of the Gauls in his day is but an earlier description of what Dr. Hyde and Dr. Joyce tell us, from mediæval Irish MSS., about the schools of ancient and mediæval Erin. Says

Cæsar,¹ "the Druids are not accustomed to take part in battle, nor do they pay taxes with other people. They are exempt from military service and everything they have is immune. Roused by the certainty of such privilege many congregate to their course of life of their own will, or are sent there by their kinsfolk and neighbours. They are said to learn a great number of verses, and some remain in their course as long as twenty years, nor do they think it right to commit these things to writing, although in other business both private and public they make use of Greek letters." Cæsar guessed that they did this because they wanted to keep their lore secret, and also because they wanted to assure good memories in their pupils. But this is merely his rationalistic theory. He goes on to say the Druids taught "that souls do not perish, but after death pass from one set of persons to another; and this," says he, "they think a great incitement to righteousness, seeing that the fear of death is put away. Besides this, they hold much reasoning over the stars and their motions, over the universe and the size of various countries, over the beginning of things, the power and the rule of the gods that die not, and all this they deliver, or hand on, to the youth they teach." Here we have a regular pagan university, in which by memorial verse during a course of many years a whole

¹ "Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica et privata procurant religiones interpretantur ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinae causa concurrit, magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore.

"Druides a bello abesse consuerunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt militiae vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitati praemiis et sua sponte multi in disciplinam convenient et a parentibus propinquis mittuntur magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Itaque annos nonnulli xx in disciplina permanent. Neque fas esse existimant ea litteris mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatis que rationibus, graecis litteris us tantur In primis hoc volunt persuadere non interire animas sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios, atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum motis, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant et juventuti tradunt."

system of philosophy, mythology, and history is carefully handed down orally from generation to generation. The Vedic schools of India, where the early Vedas have been handed down from the days of the collection of the Rishis' songs, long before Alexander and Buddha, to our own days, by the carefully trained memories of master and pupil, give an example of the possibility of exact transmission in a stable society for many generations. Exact dates in the present uncertain state of Indian chronology are hard to get.

The secular or bardic schools of mediaeval Ireland comprised a twelve-year course; that is to say, a pupil could not compass it in less than twelve years. These schools were undoubtedly the successors of the kind of school that Cæsar's Druids kept. We have some certain information as to the work they did.¹ In the first year the pupils, memory was tested by the learning of twenty tales in prose, seven as *Ollaire*, three as *Taman*, ten as *Drisac*, so that when he became *Fochluc* he had learnt elementary grammar, certain poems, and ten more tales, and was regarded as a person capable of the minor kinds of poetry. In his third year as *Mac Fuirmedh* he went on with grammar, philosophy, poetry and ten new tales. In his fourth year as

¹ Dr. D. Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 528, &c., gives from the *Memoria of Clanrickard*, London, 1722, an account of a bardic school in the latest days. It began at Michaelmas lasted till the 25th March. The pupils all brought gifts to the chief *Ollamh*. Those who could not read and write Irish well or had bad memories were at once sent away. The rest were divided into classes according to their proficiency and past studies, the juniors to be taught by inferior professors, the seniors by the head *Ollamh* himself. They were only taught at night by artificial light, they composed and memorised each in his own dark windowless room where was only a bed, a clothes-rail and two chairs. Hence, *Luidhe i leabdhibh sgol*, to lie in the beds of the schools, meant to be studying to become a poet. Before the supper, candles were brought round for the student to write down what he had composed. Each then took his composition to the hall, where they all supped and talked till bedtime. On Saturdays and holidays they went out of the schools into the country, quartering themselves on the country people, who supplied their daily food and that of their professors. Obviously there are remains of the older *disciplina* still to be recognised in this description.

Doss he began law, learnt twenty more difficult poems and ten more tales. As *Cana*, in his fifth year, he went on with his grammar and learnt ten more tales. As *Cli*, in his sixth year, he learnt forty-eight poems and ten tales, and began to study the difficulties of the oldest Irish poetry. He now became *Anradh* (something like a Master of Arts) and was qualified as a Bard or ordinary poet. For three years he learnt poetry, acquired old Gaelic, and had to compose in various difficult metres and to learn one hundred and five tales. For his last three years he was studying to be received as *Ollamh* (equivalent to our Doctor's degree), and to be known as *File* (a poet), or *Eces* (a learned man). He had now mastered a hundred poems of the highest class, and 175 tales (making 350 in all) which he was prepared to repeat accurately at the call of his audience. The degree was conferred by the king on the report of the examining doctor. The *Ollamh* thus knew poetry, history, law, and the older language, which had now passed into another stage and was rapidly becoming unintelligible. He had learnt the geography, history, and mythology of his native land. He had acquired great privileges, the *musical branch* corresponding to his degree, of gold as Doctor, of silver as Master, and of bronze for the lower grades. He was entitled to carry the *riding whip of state*, to wear *white garments*, and a *mantle* (in the case of a chief poet) *made of birds' feathers*, white and partly coloured from the girdle down, and upward green-blue, made from the necks and crests of drakes; a very old-fashioned species of honorary clothing. He had a right to entertainment and guerdon, and even as *anradh* had a train of twelve persons, and rode on horseback. At the banquet the head poet's portion was the haunch. His *worth-fine* was that of a king or bishop, he was free from all taxation, he was believed to possess many of the supernatural powers the Druid or *magus* had possessed. His satire could bring out black, red, or white blisters on the face of his victim. His poetic

curse performed in heathen fashion, with one foot, one hand, one eye, and one breath, could cause death. He was an augur and could interpret dreams and find lucky days. He could hide his clients from their foes under magic fogs or by means of shape-changing. He could make a *lethe-drink*, could raise the elements, and by his *magic wisp*, the *dlui fulle*, he could cause insanity or idiocy.¹ The privileges of the poets were so great, and such full advantage was taken of them, that they were twice publicly attacked, and only saved by powerful intercession. Public banquets were made in honour of the poets as late as 1451, and their circuits were continual sources of easy emolument. There was every encouragement for a man of good birth, fine wit, to enter the *Ollamh's* school, and become historian, poet, tale-teller, or judge, to his clan.² For from the ranks of trained scholars the hereditary poets and judges (*brehons*) were chosen. Remnants of this organisation went on to the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it passed away after at least 1800 years of existence from the days of Cæsar to those of James II. The oral teaching in the little dark huts of the scholars that flocked from various quarters, the system of memorising vast masses of verse and prose, dealing with various natural and human phenomena deemed of the highest importance, the privileges of the doctors and the generous maintenance of the scholars, were alike under

¹ It is curious but not at all wonderful that much of the reverence and awe felt for the *magus* in Ireland has descended upon the *priest*, who is firmly believed to "know the word" and to be able to make anyone he wishes to afflict insane, or paralytic or epileptic, or to "change" him. And this fear of the priest's anger and secret powers is no small element in the veneration and obedience he unquestionably gets. In mid England I know of a case in which a village wizard was believed to be able to cause the falling sickness, and have heard an instance of his power and the way it might be defeated.

² It was not till the days of the high-king Concobhar Mac Nessa, at the beginning of the Christian era, that the office of *poet* no longer of necessity carried with it the position of *brehon* or *judge*, in consequence of the obscure pleadings of Fercertné and Neidé when they contended for the office of High *Ollamh* of Erin, before the kings of Ireland.

the discipline of the Druid and in the Bardic schools of distracted Ireland in the sixteenth century.

Irish mediæval manuscripts have preserved to us only a small part of the lore of the schools, but the legal Tracts, the Dinsenchus, the Dialogue of the Ancients, the many fragmentary Tales (often jotted down merely as memoranda) are specimens of the kind of traditional matter handed down by the organisation. But it is evident that the acceptance of Christianity must have profoundly disturbed the subject matter and importance of the pagan schools, so that for the last twelve centuries before the end came the greater part of the old teaching must have been modified or omitted; but though many of the spells and stories of the gods and the mass of heathen cosmogony and eschatology vanished, the method remained, and we have still much genealogy, law, romance, history and poetry of the old days. The place of the heathen religious matter was filled by the sacred history of the *Church schools*, where the interpretation and language of the sacred books of the Christians, and the rules and law of the Church Catholic were assiduously taught, where reading was, of course, permitted, and the degree attained was that of *Sai* or *Doctor of Divinity*.

But it is in the antipodes that by far the best example of the heathen university for an unlettered people is to be found. In the excellent and invaluable Maori history of John White, we have an account of a system of schools by which all valuable knowledge was accurately and orally handed down. Chief of these was the Red House, *Whare-kura*, raised in a sacred place, consecrated by a living sacrifice in which need-fire was employed, the sons of priests, having had spells recited over them, occupied this place from nightfall to dawn in the Autumn, and studied from sunset to midnight for four or five months in succession. They were fed at the public expense, they were strictly disciplined, they were kept apart from the rest of the people, so that no distraction should interrupt the effort

of memory. Spells and legends formed the greater part of the course, much of which consisted in the learning of verse. No man could become a teacher in less than three years, inapt pupils were at once dismissed, which with constant tests secured efficiency. Besides the Red House there was a *School of Star-lore*, where priests and chiefs of the highest rank taught the omens, the calendar, proper times and observances connected with feasts, hunting, and the times at which crops should be planted and reaped. The teaching time was always night, the school was under *tabu* and opened and closed ceremoniously like the Red House. There was also a less formal establishment which one might call a *School of Agriculture*, where people of all classes learnt the necessary knowledge for the procuring of vegetable food, and the incantations which secured good supplies.

We have both in the Irish and Maori tales many examples of the regular formulæ that helped the reciter, just as the formal lines that so often recur in the Homeric poems and the *Chansons de geste*, descriptive of common operations, helped the *rhapsode* and the *trouvere*.

Among the Eddic poems we find examples of the poetic Dialogue, a form of didactic composition dating from the last days of Scandinavian heathendom in the ninth century, giving instruction of the kind then deemed most important. These poems prove that the Scandinavians had also their method of handing down folklore, though there were no Medicine-men or Druids in the heathen North, and though Scandinavia was never greatly given to regular superstitions, *admodum dedita religionibus*, like the Gaul of Cæsar's time.

What comes out of all this (and there is much more that could be said on these archaic arrangements for securing the correct transmission of knowledge and science without the use of letters) is that, unless interrupted by a revolution, such as the incoming of new religion and culture, con-

quest from abroad, or enforced emigration, a certain number of traditions (larger probably than we should commonly expect) may be handed down in a form little changed for several centuries at least. Each New Zealand tribe still remembers the canoe of settlers from which it took its descent as far back as the twelfth century or earlier, if we may judge from genealogies numerous enough to afford fairly safe means of comparison. For if we get sufficient pedigrees running side by side, with traditions dependent from each step, in one or another, synchronisms will become apparent that will help us to ascertain within a few years the date of a battle or the accession of a chief.¹ It is these synchronisms that in Mangaia (the biggest of the Hervey Islands) enabled Mr. Gill to get back to within a few years of the dates of occurrences that took place as far back as the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, though the Hervey Islanders were wholly unlettered and had no special means save their dramas for preserving tradition.² These dramas of theirs are exceedingly remarkable; they are dramas persistent in the precise stage of that the Greek drama had reached before the coming of Aischylos; dramas performed by means of a reciter, a chorus-leader, and a large chorus; dramas dealing with history and mythology, with the tragedies of kings and gods and famous men and women, death-songs, and

¹ It was by these synchronisms in the parallel pedigrees of Landnáma bóc that Dr. Vigfússon was able to solve the puzzle of Are Frode's chronology. See *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, vol. ii.

² Basil Thomson concludes that the people of Niné must have been established in that island before 1300, because they have no "certain tradition" of their origins, and the only clues to their *provenance* are their customs (such as mock circumcision, absence of tattoo, a *moko* totem, *kava* preserved for the priests alone, etc.), and the prevalence of certain definite racial types (one, like the Cook Islanders, wavy-haired Polynesian; one, lank-haired Malayo-Micronesian, not more than 10 per cent.; one, in the South West, in Avatele, with some Melanesian characteristics). He would, therefore, believing traditions oral and unassisted to go back no further than 500 years, put the arrival of the first settlers on Niné no earlier than five centuries ago.

celebrations or remembrances of striking occurrences. These dramas were composed by regular poets, hundreds of people took part in the performances, and if a drama was successful it was learnt and remembered by hundreds more. So that in the middle of the nineteenth century Mr. Gill was able to collect from his cultured converts a great number (probably the finest) of these plays. They were performed at night only, in time of peace, after preparations that sometimes took more than a year. They were played in groups, and some twenty would be played between sunset and sunrise by the light of fires and torches. They seldom extend beyond one or two hundred lines. They are as allusive as the odes of Pindar himself, and the explanation of many of the oldest could only be given by chiefs and priests who were constrained to become acquainted with the legends gathered about the religious functions which formed their daily duties or about the personal titles of their predecessors in office. That the Play of Captain Cook and Omai (made soon after their arrival in 1777) should be remembered a hundred years later is not surprising, though the accuracy of the native tradition as tested by Cook's own journals is noteworthy; but we have earlier instances proving the accuracy and scope of native tradition. At the end of the sixteenth century in the time of Shakespeare and Elizabeth, Tekaraka was exiled from Mangaia with his family and friends in two large double canoes, on the advice of the oracle-priest of the god Motoro. Nothing was known of the fate of these outlaws, until, after the conversion of the Hervey Islands, certain New Zealanders, Christians, were able to visit in peace a land that had always shown itself especially inhospitable to strangers. These Maoris brought the news of Tekaraka's landing in their own islands, where many persons traced their descent to him and where many places kept the old Mangaian names he brought there.

Nearly fifty years later, Iro, of the Tongan tribe, raised a

great conspiracy against the leading chiefs of his day. The plot was discovered and he, too, was condemned by the priest of Motoro to exile. With plenty of provision, he and his friends, forty souls, sailed in their two double canoes from the west of the island on their uncertain voyage, and lost sight of their native land, lit up that night by the torches of their sorrowing friends. No tidings of the exiles reached Mangaia for 155 years, but Iro's sad fate was the subject of a drama by the famous poet Koroa, played as late as 1791, amid the sympathy of a great audience. In 1826, when Christianity had just been introduced to the Hervey group, a Raratongan, who came with John Williams the missionary to Mangaia, told the Hervey people that Iro's canoe had reached Rarotonga, where a chief named Kainuku had given them a home and a welcome, repaid by their wonderful valour in battle, so that this tribe alone could eat turtle and royal fish, the prerogative of the chiefs only in other tribes.

Here are instances where corroboration exists to prove the facts tradition has preserved. This corroboration cannot be looked for in every case, but here is an authentic example of events accurately recorded and handed down for eight generations without special means of record, for if the dramas preserve facts, yet the facts in this case had to be remembered without letters or even regular oral teaching. There may have been earlier dramas on the subject than those of Koroa (composed many generations after the exile of Iro), but analogy does not point to this as a necessity. Most of the dramas date from the eighteenth century, though there are dramatic songs of far older date, and obscure by reason of the old language.

At the end of the eleventh and the early part of the twelfth century long poems, based on oral tradition, were being composed in France and England on events and persons of the eighth and ninth centuries ; while in the thirteenth century a

vast body of romance grew up round oral legends attached to persons who, if they existed, must, some of them, have lived and died in the sixth century. In both these cases the foundation of the new literature was certainly oral. For the *Britannic Book*, like the *British History*, can but have contained the substance of oral traditions. It is true, as Carlyle said, that beyond a limited time (no greater perhaps than three centuries) all the past tends to be viewed as on one plane. These are the *old times*

“Far in the pristine days of former yore,”

as the parody has it; but even then a certain order is remembered. The two Cromwells may be confused, but they are known to be later than the Danes, and the Danes themselves younger than the “old Romans.” In the far-off landscape only a few peaks catch the sun, only a few names survive, but we must remember that with us in England, since the Conversion which began in the late sixth century, there has been no systematic tradition, no organisation that secured the handing down of that great mass of heathen history and knowledge which the Teutonic settlers must have brought across the North Sea in the fifth century. Kings (like Alfred and his exemplar, Charles) may have busied themselves with the collection of the old songs, but the change in religion, in language and in culture, and the long disgrace under which all that had affinity to the Old Faith had so long lain, must have prevented their collections (of which so little now remains) from being at all adequately representative of the vast mass of traditions that belonged to the past. Spells have survived in out-of-the-way places, and a few curious penmen (to whom we owe great gratitude) took the trouble to write down some few compositions in which they were personally interested. It is to such a stray Scandinavian collector that the preservation of the two chief collections of the Eddic poems is due. But the mass of old lore in Britain has

perished, and in the field of folklore it is only from tiny fragments that we can gain a knowledge of how far our ancestors were able to maintain and transmit their own knowledge of the past.

Personally I think the transmission-power of tradition has been very much undervalued,¹ since we, in modern days, have so little experience of its possibilities and scope. But unlettered tradition will always be at the mercy of a slight cataclysm. It is not till tradition is committed to letters that its preservation is at all definitely assured. And this is a truth that, even in this century, is not yet sufficiently recognised. Societies such as ours must be the recorders. Our function as Recorders and Remembrancers is even more important than our function as Interpreters. Our opportunities for record are swiftly and silently slipping past. There will always be time for the Systematisers, but at present the Duty of Collection is to my mind paramount.

F. YORK POWELL.

¹ If I may be permitted to refer to the *Grimm's Centenary Papers*, Oxford, 1886, I believe that my master, Dr. Vigfusson, made it most likely that the recollection of Sigfred was a thousand years old when the Northern colonist in Greenland made a Lay about the revenge taken for him, and when in these "Western Isles" of Britain, other Northern colonists made the Lays that deal with his fall, his wife's widowhood, and the death of his murderers.

I hope ere long to print a conjecture of Dr. Vigfusson's as to another Teutonic hero of whom the memory has been supposed to have perished.

I have not alluded to the well-known case of the gold-clad giant of Mold, a tradition that lived orally through several centuries at least, and the remarkable preservation of place-names in England through many centuries (frequently more than ten), merits more special notice than I can give here.

THE STORY OF DEIRDRE, IN ITS BEARING ON THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOLK-TALE.

BY ELEANOR HULL.

(*Read at Meeting, 18th November, 1903.*)

A FOLK-TALE may be studied from two quite different points of view. It may be regarded as a single example of a larger or smaller world-wide class of folk-stories having points of resemblance to each other, or it may be studied historically in its relation to the social development of the country in which it has had its origin. There is a danger in the pursuit of folklore studies that this historic sense should be subordinated to the mere accumulation of examples, and the era of the historical development of the folk-tale can only recently be said to have begun. Yet we have perhaps no surer reflection of the mental and moral changes of attitude in a nation than that which the evolution of a popular folk-tale gives us. Do the folk believe firmly in the supernatural? The story assumes grave and weird proportions. Do they grow sceptical? The folk-tale dwindles into the comic or grotesque. Are they fierce and cruel? The folk-legend is gloomy and vindictive too. Does civilisation stamp out these qualities? The change is often well expressed in the modern aspect of the tale. When the folk-story is studied wholly from the standpoint of its external similarities and ramifications, this most instructive side of its history is apt to be lost sight of, and its value as a guide to the social and intellectual development of a people is impaired.

We propose, in this paper, to sketch the development of a well-known Irish tale through some of the changes which it has undergone during a steady course of popularity over six or seven hundred years.

Perhaps the most familiar of all the stories of heroic Ireland is the Tale of Deirdre, or the "Tragical Death of the Sons of Usnach." When the legends of the heroic period of Irish literary production fell into disuse, when even the popular "Wooing of Emer," the "Táin Bó Cuailgne," and the "Feast of Bricriu" grew hazy in the people's tradition, the Sorrowful Tale of Usnach's Sons seemed endowed with perennial vitality. It is still at the present day the best known of all the large stock of Irish romances, and on it the art of living musicians, poets, and story-tellers has exercised itself with the result, at all events, of keeping its memory alive.

One consequence of its long-continued popularity we wish to point out in this paper. While many of the great cycle of tales to which this romance belongs have come down to us without essential change, save the introduction of Christian ideas here and there, this story has undergone a continuous series of alterations, not only in details but even in the character of the principal personages, especially those of the heroine and her nurse, Levarcham.

The Deirdre of the ancient tale, forceful of purpose, fiercely determined at all hazards to gain her ends, and, spite of the steadfastness and strength of her devotion, showing in her conduct the savagery of an untamed nature, becomes softened in a later surviving form of the tale preserved in a 17th or 18th century manuscript into the tearful, sentimental maiden of a century ago. It is curious to find the wild woman of the 12th century Book of Leinster version transformed into the Lydia Languish of a later age.

Levarcham, too, has in this late version lost her repellent qualities; the terrible magician of the early tales has changed into a fond and foolish old nurse who cannot resist the wilful pleadings of her charge.

The change is very marked and curious, and it represents the vast revolution in social manners and modes of thought in Ireland between the time of the first creation of the story

in the mind of some gifted artist centuries ago and the time of its latest redaction.

Between these two Deirdres, the forceful, uncontrolled and barbaric Deirdre of the 11th and 12th centuries and the sobbing and fibbing Deirdre of the 17th or 18th centuries, we find Deirdres of many kinds, less fierce but not less resolute, more gentle but not less fearless.

The earliest existing version is that in the Book of Leinster; the latest with which we shall here deal is a manuscript copy recently discovered by Dr. Hyde in the Belfast Museum, and published by him in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*. Only the earlier portion of the tale is dealt with in the modern version, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to the same limits.

The general outline of the story is so well known that we need not linger over it. It is in brief as follows.

Conor, King of Ulster, and his warriors, are feasting, according to the custom of the day, in the house of one of the king's courtiers, when, amid terrible signs and portents, there is born to the wife of the host a fair daughter. Cathbad, Druid and Soothsayer, rises from the feast and utters a prophecy about the child so full of dismal warning to Ulster that the warriors, with one voice, determine to slay her on the spot. But the king intervenes. "It is not well," he says, "to kill a helpless infant; moreover, Cathbad has foretold that the maiden will be fairer than all women of the world; the king will himself rear up the child, and will in due time take her as his one and only wife." So spake the old chief, and none of his warriors dared oppose him.

Deirdre (so named by the seer) was thenceforward shut up in a lonely fort, strictly guarded. Every luxury was provided for her, but, save for her foster-parents (or according to the later versions, Cathbad), and Levarcham the Druidess, and the king himself, none dared approach her. So Deirdre grew up, increasing day by day in loveliness, until, come to years of discretion, she suddenly began to feel

conscious of the hardness of her fate, which bound her to a king indeed, but one old enough to be her father. Then it was that, seeing one day a raven drinking the blood of a newly-killed calf upon the snow, she confided to Levarcham her desire to have a husband as handsome as those three colours, black like the raven, red like blood, and white as snow. Levarcham tells her of Naisi, the brave and nobly-born son of Usnach. The story, in the oldest version, proceeds as follows:

"One day Naisi, alone upon the rampart of the fort, was singing. So melodious was his voice that all who heard it were soothed and ravished with the sound; the kine also and other animals, hearing it, gave milk two-thirds more than the usual supply. Valorous were the three sons of Usnach. If the entire province of Ulster had been attacked, they three, set back to back, would have secured victory to the Ultonians, so superior was the prowess of their defence, and the vigilance with which they would have protected each other. In the chase, they were fleet as hounds; they outstripped the wild beasts in their flight and killed them."

"When Naisi was alone without, Deirdre slipped out and passed him by. On the moment, failing to recognise her—

"'She is lovely,' he said, 'the heifer who passes by.'

"'There must be fine heifers where the bulls are,' she replied.

"'The foremost bull of the province is beside you,' he replied, alluding to the King of Ulster.

"'If I were to make choice between you two, I would choose a bull, young like thyself,' she said.

"'Not so,' cried Naisi; for the prophecy of Cathbad came to his recollection.

"'Do you say that to get rid of me?'

"'Be it so,' he replied.

"At these words she flung herself on him, and seizing him by the two ears, she said, 'Behold thy two ears

marked with scoffing and disgrace, if you do not take me with you.

“‘ Away from me, O woman !’

“‘ I shall be thine,’ she said.

“Then Naisi began to sing. At the sound of his melodious voice the Ultonians arose and turned their arms against each other.

“The sons of Usnach departed from their dwelling to find out what had become of their brother.

“‘ What are you about?’ said they; ‘is it not through your fault that the Ultonians are slaughtering each other?’

“Then Naisi told them all that had happened to him.

“‘ Nought but evil can come of it,’ said the warriors; ‘ nevertheless, whatever may result, so long as we live we will not allow you to suffer an affront. We will take her with us to another province. There is not a king in Ireland who will not bid us welcome.’

“So they resolved. They departed before nightfall with Deirdre, three times fifty warriors, three times fifty women, and three times fifty dogs and attendants.”

In one of the versions preserved for us by O’Flanagan in the pages of the short-lived *Transactions of the Gaelic Society*, 1808, the fierce allusions and barbaric action of Deirdre are somewhat modified. It is interesting to see the transition to gentler manners, to catch it half-way, as it were.

The passage runs as follows :

“ As Naisi was alone abroad, Deirdre threw herself in his way, but as she passed by, uttered not a word.

“‘ Gentle is the dame who passeth by,’ says he.

“‘ It is natural for damsels to be gentle where there are no youths,’ she said.

“‘ The man of the province [*i.e.* the king] is with you,’ said he.

“‘ If I were to make a choice between you twain, I should prefer a young man like you,’ she answered.

"'Not so,' he said, 'for dread [of the king] is upon me.'

"'It is to escape me thou sayest that,' she said.

"'Be it so then,' he replied.

"On that she flung a ball at him, striking him on the head. 'A stroke of disgrace through all your life will this be,' she cried, 'if you take me not.' And with that she took up his instrument and played."

In the modern version, this wild scene is entirely omitted. We are simply told that Levarcham, overcome by Deirdre's childish woes, fetches Naisi to talk with her; and that he, filled with love at sight of her beauty, is easily persuaded to carry her off to Alba.

On the contrary, the incident of the raven drinking the blood spilled upon the snow, which inspired in the girl the desire to have a husband who should have hair black as the raven, cheeks red as blood, and a skin white as snow, becomes the centre of a series of scenes between Deirdre and her old nurse, which, charming and dainty as they are, are wholly modern in spirit. The character of both women has been transformed. We cannot fail to be struck by the similarity between these scenes and the famous conversation between the love-lorn Juliet and her nurse in Shakespeare's play. Save that Levarcham is here more gentle and affectionate than Juliet's nurse, the pretty play between the two old women and their young charges is wonderfully alike.

To take a passage. "It chanced upon a day, while the snow was lying on the ground in winter, that Cailcin (*i.e.* Cathbad), Deirdre's tutor, went to kill a calf to prepare food for her, and the blood being shed upon the snow, a raven stooped down to sip it. As Deirdre observed that, watching through a window in the fortress, she heaved so heavy a sigh that Cailcin heard her. 'Why art thou so sad, girl?' he said. 'Alas! that I have not yonder thing just as I see it,' said she. 'Thou shalt have it if it be possible,' he replied, and drawing his hand dex-

terously, he gave an unerring cast of his knife at the raven, so that he cut one foot off it, and taking up the bird, he threw it over beside Deirdre. The girl gave a sudden start, and fell into a faint, till Levarcham came to her aid. ‘Why art thou thus, dear daughter?’ said she; ‘thy countenance is piteous ever since yesterday.’ ‘A desire that I chanced to have,’ said Deirdre. ‘What is that desire?’ said Levarcham. ‘Three colours that I saw,’ said Deirdre, ‘the blackness of the raven, the redness of the blood, and the whiteness of the snow.’ ‘It is easy to satisfy thee so far,’ said Levarcham; and she arose and went out immediately; and she gathered the full of a vessel of snow, and half the full of a cup of the calf’s blood, and three feathers pulled out of the raven’s wing, and she laid them down on the table in front of the girl. Deirdre made as though she were eating the snow, and lazily tasting the blood with the tip of the raven’s feather, her nurse closely watching her the while, until Deirdre begged Levarcham to leave her alone for a time.

“So Levarcham departed, but returning again she found Deirdre shaping a ball of snow into the likeness of a man’s head, and mottling it with the tip of the raven’s feather out of the blood of the calf, and arranging the small black plumage upon it like hair. Until all was finished she never noticed that her nurse was scanning her.

“‘Whose likeness is that?’ said Levarcham. Deirdre started, and she said, ‘I can easily destroy my work.’ ‘That work of thine is a great surprise to me, girl,’ said the nurse, ‘because it is not like thee to draw pictures of a man, and, moreover, the women of Emania were not permitted to teach thee the similitude of any man but of Conor only.’ ‘I saw a face in my dream,’ said Deirdre, ‘that was brighter of countenance than the face of the king or of Cailcin, and it was in it that I saw the three colours that troubled me, for his skin was white like snow, and the blackness of the raven was on his hair, and in his face the red tint of blood;

and woe is me, for unless my desire is given to me, I shall not live.' 'Alas for thy desire, it is difficult to obtain it,' said Levarcham, 'for fast and close is the fort of the (Red) Branch, and high and difficult the enclosure round about, and within are the fierce bloodhounds keeping watch.' 'The hounds will not harm us,' said Deirdre. 'Where did you behold that face?' said Levarcham again. 'In a dream yesterday,' said Deirdre weeping; and she hid her face in the bosom of her nurse, shedding tears plentifully. Her nurse lifted up Deirdre's head. 'Take courage, daughter,' she said, 'and be patient, and surely thou wilt get thy desire; for according to the span of human life, Conor's time beside thee cannot be long.' Levarcham then departs, but as she is crossing a passage she notices a green mantle hung loosely across a closed-up window, and putting her hand to it it came readily away, the moss and stones falling down after it; and beyond, through the gap, might be seen the Plain of the Champions, and the heroes exercising themselves on it in games and feats of strength. A new light breaks in on Levarcham's mind. 'I understand now, my pupil,' she thinks, 'where you saw that dream.'"

Some little time after she goes back to look for Deirdre, and finds her lying on her couch, crying and making moan. The heart of the old nurse is softened at the sight, and bending over her, she bids her tell her whether she had ever before seen the warrior whom she had been shown yesterday in the dream, or whom she had perhaps seen through the hole bored in the window-work? Then Deirdre hiding her face against her nurse's shoulder, tells her under promise of secrecy a pretty childish romance. She said that once when she was but a little girl, she had seen him on the lawn of the royal residence, playing games with the other boys, and learning feats of championship, and that even then he had already been beautiful to look upon.

"Daughter," said Levarcham, "it is full seven years since you saw the boys playing on the green, and then you were

but seven years of age." "Seven bitter years," said Deirdre, "since I beheld the joyous sports on the green, and the games of the boys; yet even at that time Naisi surpassed all the youths of Emania." "Naisi, the son of Usnach?" said Levarcham. "Naisi was his name, he told me so," said Deirdre, "But I did not ask whose son he was." "He told you so!" exclaimed Levarcham. "He told me so," said Deirdre, "when he threw the ball, by a mis-cast, backwards, across the heads of the group of maidens who were standing on the edge of the Green, and I rose from among them all, and picked up the ball, and gave it back to him, and he pressed my hand joyously." "He pressed your hand, girl!" cried Levarcham. "He pressed it lovingly, and said that he would see me again, but it has been difficult for him, and not until yesterday have I seen him since; and O gentle nurse, if you would not wish me to die, take a message to him from me, and bid him come and talk with me to-night, without the knowledge of Cailcin or any other person."

Again Levarcham objects that the difficulties are insurmountable, and in especial that Naisi is much beloved of the king, who is his near relation. Deirdre will admit no impediment, and she ends by bidding her nurse remember that Naisi has great territories in Alba (Scotland), and that she would have her tell him how much greater is her love for him than for the king. "Tell him that yourself, if you can," cries Levarcham, as she ultimately goes away to do Deirdre's bidding.

Finally Naisi carries her off, not to a painful circuit through various parts of Ireland, as in the earlier version, but directly to his own possessions in Alba.

Now, pretty as this modern version is, it has quite parted with the heroic elements of the earlier romance.

This fanciful, sensitive girl, who trims snowballs into the shape of her lover's head, who dissolves into tears and betakes herself to the sofa, who falls into a faint at sight of the three colours that have possessed her imagination, is as

unlike as it is possible to conceive to the original Deirdre—the girl who throws herself across Naisi's path, ferociously seizes him by the ears, or, according to the slightly later version, flings a ball at him as he passes by. The changed ideas of a woman's proper position and course of action could not be more strikingly illustrated. She no longer takes measures to secure the fulfilment of her wishes ; she weeps in secret and builds imaginary lovers out of snow-balls. Had it not been for Levarcham, who undertakes the perilous position of intermediary for a girl who is no longer courageous enough to take her own fate into her hands, she would never have met Naisi again ; she would probably have cried on the sofa to the end of her days. We will not discuss which was the more admirable Deirdre, but I confess to finding it difficult to realise that the Deirdre who cried and fainted would have become the heroic champion of her husband's cause, the calm and composed woman who, with imperturbable courage, played chess with her husband when the house was surrounded by their darest foes, and an enemy was watching them through the window ; or to imagine in her the woman who, when Naisi was dead, dashed her brains out upon a rock that she might escape the cruelty of Conor and Eogan.

You will notice that the character of Levarcham is also changed. Here, in the modern story, she is only the affectionate, fond old nurse, who, woman-like, is inquisitive about the freaks of her ward. She is fearful of the king's anger, yet pleasantly interested in the romance of the two young people ; and she is brought without much difficulty to consent to their meeting.

She is a much more redoubtable personage in the other stories. She is represented as Conor's messenger and "conversation-woman," meaning the royal woman of lamentation or professional "keener." She is possessed of extraordinary powers, for she can walk through the whole of Ireland in one day, acting apparently the part of a spy, and

picking up information useful for the royal ears. We read that "everything good or evil that was done in Ireland she used to relate to the king in the House of the Red Branch at the end of the day." When Conor was shut up during the famous Siege of Howth on the rocky heights of the peninsula, and unable to obtain a supply of provisions, he was sustained by a daily supply of food brought by Levarcham on her back all the way from the royal palace of Emain Macha (*i.e.* Navan Fort, near Armagh). When undergoing these prodigious feats a fearful and horrible change came over the swift messenger. We read that "her feet and knees turned and went behind her, and her heels and thighs came before her!" while, besides her ordinary share of food with the warriors, she required a portion of 60 cakes which she baked at one time on the fire.¹ Though only the child of a slave-girl and born in Conor's house, Levarcham was possessed of all the arts of druidism. She was that most dreaded being, a female satirist. Even the king stood in awe of her, for we read that he would like to have removed her from the vicinity of Deirdre, but he dare not, for he dreaded her incantations.

So radically dissimilar are the maiden Deirdre and her nurse Levarcham in the story of the 11th and that of the

¹ The same extraordinary description is given of Cúchulainn in moments of supreme action, and probably is meant, by some strange flight of the savage imagination which cannot be followed by the modern mind, to denote great strength or swiftness of body. The same is said of Domhnall, a terrible Amazon in Alba, whom Cúchulainn met when he went thither to learn championship; and also of the Devil, who when bidden by St. Moling to fast and pray, replies, that he cannot kneel, because his knees are behind him, see Stokes' *Goidelica*, 2nd edition 1872, p. 180. In a series of articles on *Les Pieds et Genoux à rebours*, published in *Mélusine*, vi. 172; vii. 39, 63; viii. 77, M. Henri Gaidoz shows that the idea, which is met with in various countries, generally represents an evil genius or redoubtable person. There is a tiny bronze statuette in the British Museum representing the grotesque figure of a youth or man with the lower portion of the body from the waist to the ankles turned in an opposite direction to the head and feet. M. Perdrozet mentions a similar statuette in the National Museum at Athens.

17th century. The comparison is interesting not only as showing the variations through which a few of the more popular of the tales of old Ireland have passed, but yet more because these changes give us glimpses into the social and moral conceptions of the people themselves.

What the age demands, that the story-teller, if he desires to retain his popularity, must add to his recital; that which changed ideas of life and character reject, that he must needs remodel. Thus the tales become a touch-stone by which the moral sensitiveness of the nation can, to a certain extent, be gauged. In the beautiful modern folk-version taken down by Mr. Alexander Carmichael from Iain MacNeill ("Iain Donn"), an old man of eighty-three, in the Western Islands of Scotland,¹ the whole cast of the story is remodelled. Here it is not the king who shuts up the maiden to preserve her for himself, but her own father, who, on account of his great age and the age of his wife when Deirdre is born, is ashamed to be known to have a child. He therefore will not allow a living creature to know of her birth save the nurse or "knee-woman," alone. He gets three men to "dig a green conical mound inside out, and line the hollow thus formed right round," so that the child and nurse might live there comfortably. It is made far away from human habitation "among the great high hills in the wild distant desert," and it is provided year by year with food sufficient to last for twelve months and a day. The descriptions in this piece are of the loveliest, and we see Deirdre growing up in her solitude "lithe and fair as a stately sapling, straight and symmetrical as the young rush of the moorland. Her nurse-mother taught her all knowledge that she herself knew. There was no plant springing from root, nor bird singing from spray, nor star gazing from heaven, for which Deirdre had not a name." She is no longer the sentimental hothouse-reared

¹ *Transactions of the Gaelic Society, Inverness*, vol. xiii., pp. 241-257. Translation, vol. xiv., pp. 370-387.

girl of the modern Irish version, she is the sweet wholesome maid of the open hill and valley, moulded by the influence of storm and sunshine into their own fresh and changeful likeness.

“ And beauty born of murmuring sound
Shall pass into her face.”

Deirdre had grown to womanhood, and as yet she had never seen a man. But one wintry gloomy night a hunter who had lost his way sank down, exhausted with cold and hunger and overcome with drowsiness, outside the green mound in which Deirdre dwelt. “ Sleep-wandering” came upon him, and he thought that he was at the abode of fairies, and that within he heard the fairies making music. In his dreams the hunter called out that if there were anyone in the house they should for the sake of the Good Being let him in.

“ Deirdre heard the voice, and she said to the nurse-mother, ‘ Foster-mother, what is that?’ ‘ A thing of little worth,’ she replied; ‘ it is the birds of the air gone astray from each other, and seeking to come together again. Let them hie away to the forest of trees.’

“ Again ‘ sleep-wandering’ came upon the man, and he called out in his sleep that if there were anyone within the knoll, for the sake of the Being of the Elements they should let him in. ‘ What is that, nurse-mother?’ said Deirdre. ‘ A thing of little worth,’ she said again; ‘ it is but the birds of the flocks astray from each other, seeking one another and their home; but let them hie away to the forest of trees. There is neither house nor home for them here this night.’ Three times the benumbed and famished man called aloud, and three times the foster-mother gave her charge the same reply.

“ ‘ Oh! nurse-mother,’ said the girl at length, ‘ the bird is asking shelter in the name of the God of the Elements, and thou thyself didst teach me that whatever is asked in

His name should be done. If thou wilt not let me call in the bird that is benumbed with cold and sore with hunger, I myself will doubt thy teaching and thy faith. But, as I believe in thy teaching and the faith thou teachest me, I will arise and let in the bird."

Then Deirdre opened the door and set food and drink before the hunter.

While he is in shelter, the hunter lets his tongue wag, and he tells Deirdre of the three sons of Usnach and their strength and beauty, describing them under the same figures of speech as in the other tales. He is speedily dismissed with sharp words by the foster-mother, but having been much struck by the beauty of Deirdre, he thinks to make profit out of his discovery by relating the story to King Conor of Ulster, who is a widower. Inspired by his tales, the King and his party set out, and they perform with much fatigue and pain the journey to the lonely sheiling. They draw up before the door and knock, but nothing will induce the nurse to open the door, even when they threaten to break the bothie down and enter by force. "I would be obliged to you," said the woman, "to tell me who commands me to open my bothie door?" "It is I, Conor, King of Ulster," is the reply, "and let not the matter be in darkness to thee any longer." Then she is forced to obey, and the King carries off Deirdre and wishes to marry her at once, "for he had never in waking day or dreaming night seen a 'blood-drop' so lovely as Deirdre." But she would by no means consent, for "she had no knowledge of the duties of a wife or manners of a maiden, seeing that she never had seen the features of a man till now, nor sat in assembly or company before. Nor could she even sit in a chair, for she had never seen a chair till now." So she was allowed the respite of a year, and meanwhile she learned rapidly all that it was needful for her to know. One day as Deirdre and her maidens were sitting on the hill behind the house enjoying the scene and drinking the sunshine,

Naisi and his brothers passed by. Though they did not look up, "the love of Naisi was so implanted in the heart of Deirdre" that she sprang up, gathered up her garments, and flew after them, leaving her companions astonished and displeased. Arden and Allen saw her following, and, knowing that she was affianced to the King, they hurried on, for they knew that if Naisi their brother saw her, he would have her for himself "seven times specially as she was not yet married to the King." So they exhorted one another to walk well, seeing that the distance was long that they had to travel and the darkness of night was coming on. Deirdre calls after him, "Naisi, son of Usnach, art thou going to leave me?" "What cry is that in mine ears that I cannot easily answer nor yet easily refuse?" said Naisi. "It is only the cry of the lake-ducks of Conor," they reply; "and let us hurry our footsteps, for the distance is great and the dark shadows of night are coming on." Thrice Deirdre utters her cry and thrice they assure their brother that it is only the grey geese or the flute-like notes of Conor's lake-swans that he hears. But at the third plaintive call, Naisi turns back and meets Deirdre, and she greets him with three kisses and one kiss to each of his brothers. "And glowing blushes like fire were in her cheeks for shame, and the tremulous hues of her ruddy cheeks were coming and going as fast as the shaking leaves of the aspen tree of the stream, till Naisi bethought him that he never saw in bodily form so lovely a 'blood-drop' as this, and he gave her a love such as he never gave to vision or living form, but to herself alone." Then he raised her on his shoulder and requested his brothers to walk well now, and that he would walk well with them. The flight to Alba and the end of the story is much as in the mediæval Irish version, except that the three brothers are drowned in the magic sea raised by the Druid, and that when they are lying in the grave side by side Deirdre calls

to them to make a place for her beside them. They do so, and she leaps into the grave, and lying down close to Naisi, she dies at his side.

This Highland version contrasts well with that preserved in the Belfast manuscript. The one has all the character of a drawing-room recital, full of sentimentality and artificiality; the other has the freedom and freshness of the place of its preservation among the wild tribes and ocean solitudes of the Outer Hebrides.

ELEANOR HULL.

ARTHUR AND GORLAGON.¹

TRANSLATED BY F. A. MILNE, WITH NOTES BY A. NUTT.

(*Read at Meeting, 17th December, 1903.*)

(1) AT the City of the Legions King Arthur was keeping the renowned festival of Pentecost, to which he invited the great men and nobles of the whole of his kingdom, and when the solemn rites had been duly performed he bade them to a banquet, furnished with everything thereto pertaining. And as they were joyfully partaking of the feast of rich abundance, Arthur, in his excessive joy, threw his arms around the Queen, who was sitting beside him, and embracing her, kissed her very affectionately in the sight of all. But she was dumbfounded at his conduct, and, blushing deeply, looked up at him and asked why he had kissed her thus at such an unusual place and hour.

Arthur. Because amidst all my riches I have nothing so pleasing and amidst all my delights nothing so sweet, as thou art.

The Queen. Well, if, as you say, you love me so much, you evidently think that you know my heart and my affection.

Arthur. I doubt not that your heart is well disposed towards me, and I certainly think that your affection is absolutely known to me.

¹ The Latin original has been edited for the first time by Professor G. L. Kittredge, of Harvard, from the late 14th century Bodleian parchment MS. Rawlinson, B 49, in *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vol. viii., published by Ginn and Co. of Boston. The MS. contains another Latin Arthurian romance, *Historia Meriadoci regis Cambriae*; *Historia trium Magorum*; *Narratio de Tirio Appolonio*; *Liber Alexandri . . . de preliis*; *Aristoteles de regimine sanitatis*. *Meriadocus* is also found in the B.M. MS. Cott. Faust, B. VI., whence it has been edited by another American Scholar, Professor J. Douglas Bruce, in *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Ass. of America*, vol. xv.

The Queen. You are undoubtedly mistaken, Arthur, for you acknowledge that you have never yet fathomed either the nature or the heart of a woman.

Arthur. I call heaven to witness that if up to now they have lain hid from me, I will exert myself, and sparing no pains, I will never taste food until by good hap I fathom them.

(2) So when the banquet was ended Arthur called to him Caius, his sewer, and said, "Caius, do you and Walwain my nephew mount your horses and accompany me on the business to which I am hastening. But let the rest remain and entertain my guests in my stead until I return." Caius and Walwain at once mounted their horses as they were bidden, and hastened with Arthur to a certain king famed for his wisdom, named Gargol, who reigned over the neighbouring country; and on the third day they reached a certain valley, quite worn out, for since leaving home they had not tasted food nor slept, but had ever ridden on uninterruptedly night and day. Now immediately on the further side of that valley there was a lofty mountain, surrounded by a pleasant wood, in whose recesses was visible a very strong fortress built of polished stone. And Arthur, when he saw it at a distance, commanded Caius to hasten on before him with all speed, and bring back word to him to whom the town belonged. So Caius, urging on his steed, hastened forward and entered the fortress, and on his return met Arthur just as he was entering the outer trench, and told him that the town belonged to King Gargol, to whom they were making their way. (3) Now it so happened that King Gargol had just sat down at table to dine; and Arthur, entering his presence on horseback, courteously saluted him and those who were feasting with him. And King Gargol said to him, "Who art thou? and from whence? And wherefore hast thou entered into our presence with such haste?"

Arthur. "I am Arthur," he replied, "the King of

Britain: and I wish to learn from you what are the *heart*,¹ *the nature*,² and *the ways*³ of women, for I have very often heard that you are well skilled in matters of this kind."

Gargol. Yours is a weighty question, Arthur, and there are very few who know how to answer it. But take my advice now, dismount and eat with me, and rest to-day, for I see that you are overwrought with your toilsome journey; and to-morrow I will tell you what I know of the matter.

Arthur denied that he was overwrought, pledging himself withal that he would never eat until he had learnt what he was in search of. At last, however, pressed by the King and by the company who were feasting with him, he assented, and, having dismounted, he sat at table on the seat which had been placed for him opposite the King. But as soon as it was dawn, Arthur, remembering the promise which had been made to him, went to King Gargol and said, "O my dear King, make known to me, I beg, that which you promised yesterday you would tell me to-day."

Gargol. You are displaying your folly, Arthur. Until now I thought you were a wise man: as to the heart, the nature, and the ways of woman, no one ever had a conception of what they are, and I do not know that I can give you any information on the subject. But I have a brother, King Torleil by name, whose kingdom borders on my own. He is older and wiser than I am: and indeed, if there is any one skilled in this matter, about which you are so anxious to know, I do not think it has escaped him. Seek him out, and desire him on my account to tell you what he knows of it.

(4) So having bidden Gargol farewell, Arthur departed, and instantly continuing his journey arrived after a four days' march at King Torleil's, and as it chanced found the King at dinner. And when the King had exchanged greetings

¹ *Mens.*

² *Ingenium.*

³ *Ars.*

with him and asked him who he was, Arthur replied that he was King of Britain, and had been sent to the King by his brother King Gargol, in order that the King might explain to him a matter, his ignorance of which had obliged him to approach the royal presence.

Torleil. What is it?

Arthur. I have applied my mind to investigate the heart, the nature, and the ways of women, and have been unable to find anyone to tell me what they are. Do you therefore, to whom I have been sent, instruct me in these matters, and if they are known to you, do not keep them back from me.

Torleil. Yours is a weighty question, Arthur, and there are few who know how to answer it. Wherefore, as this is not the time to discuss such matters, dismount and eat, and rest to-day, and to-morrow I will tell you what I know about them.

Arthur replied, "I shall be able to eat enough by-and-by. By my faith, I will never eat until I have learned that which I am in search of." Pressed, however, by the King and by those who were sitting at table with him, he at length reluctantly consented to dismount, and sat down at the table opposite the King. But in the morning he came to King Torleil and began to ask him to tell what he had promised. Torleil confessed that he knew absolutely nothing about the matter, and directed Arthur to his third brother, King Gorlagon, who was older than himself, telling him that he had no doubt that Gorlagon was mighty in the knowledge of the things he was inquiring into, if indeed it was certain that anyone had any knowledge of them. (5) So Arthur hastened without delay to his destined goal, and after two days reached the city where King Gorlagon dwelt, and, as it chanced, found him at dinner, as he had found the others.

After greetings had been exchanged Arthur made known who he was and why he had come, and as he kept on asking

for information on the matters about which he had come, King Gorlagon answered, "Yours is a weighty question. Dismount and eat: and to-morrow I will tell you what you wish to know."

But Arthur said he would by no means do that, and when again requested to dismount, he swore by an oath that he would yield to no entreaties until he had learned what he was in search of. So when King Gorlagon saw that he could not by any means prevail upon him to dismount, he said, "Arthur, since you persist in your resolve to take no food until you know what you ask of me, although the labour of telling you the tale be great, and there is little use in telling it, yet I will relate to you what happened to a certain king, and thereby you will be able to test the heart, the nature, and the ways of women. Yet, Arthur, I beg you, dismount and eat, for yours is a weighty question and few there are who know how to answer it, and when I have told you my tale you will be but little the wiser.

Arthur. Tell on as you have proposed, and speak no more of my eating.

Gorlagon. Well, let your companions dismount and eat.

Arthur. Very well, let them do so.

So when they had seated themselves at table, King Gorlagon said, "Arthur, since you are so eager to hear this business, give ear, and keep in mind what I am about to tell you."

(6) (*Here begins about the wolf.*)

There was a king well known to me, noble, accomplished, rich, and far-famed for justice and for truth. He had provided for himself a delightful garden which had no equal, and in it he had caused to be sown and planted all kinds of trees and fruits, and spices of different sorts: and among the other shrubs which grew in the garden there

was a beautiful slender sapling of exactly the same height as the King himself, which broke forth from the ground and began to grow on the same night and at the same hour as the King was born. Now concerning this sapling, it had been decreed by fate that whoever should cut it down, and striking his head with the slenderer part of it, should say, "Be a wolf and have the understanding of a wolf," he would at once become a wolf, and have the understanding of a wolf. And for this reason the King watched the sapling with great care and with great diligence, for he had no doubt that his safety depended upon it. So he surrounded the garden with a strong and steep wall, and allowed no one but the guardian, who was a trusted friend of his own, to be admitted into it; and it was his custom to visit that sapling three or four times a day, and to partake of no food until he had visited it, even though he should fast until the evening. So it was that he alone understood this matter thoroughly.

(7) Now this king had a very beautiful wife, but though fair to look upon she did not prove chaste, and her beauty was the cause of her undoing. For she loved a youth, the son of a certain pagan king; and preferring his love to that of her lord, she had taken great pains to involve her husband in some danger so that the youth might be able lawfully to enjoy the embraces for which he longed. And observing that the King entered the garden so many times a day, and desiring to know the reason, she often purposed to question him on the subject, but never dared to do so. But at last one day, when the King had returned from hunting later than usual, and according to his wont had entered the plantation alone, the Queen, in her thirst for information, and unable to endure that the thing should be concealed from her any longer (as it is customary for a woman to wish to know everything), when her husband had returned and was seated at table, asked him with a treacherous smile why he went to the garden so many times a day, and had

been there even then late in the evening before taking food. The King answered that that was a matter which did not concern her, and that he was under no obligation to divulge it to her; whereupon she became furious, and improperly suspecting that he was in the habit of consorting with an adulteress in the garden, cried out, "I call all the gods of heaven to witness that I will never eat with you henceforth until you tell me the reason." And rising suddenly from the table she went to her bedchamber, cunningly feigning sickness, and lay in bed for three days without taking any food.

(8) On the third day, the King, perceiving her obstinacy and fearing that her life might be endangered in consequence, began to beg and exhort her with gentle words to rise and eat, telling her that the thing she wished to know was a secret which he would never dare to tell anyone. To which she replied, "You ought to have no secrets from your wife, and you must know for certain that I would rather die than live, so long as I feel that I am so little loved by you," and he could not by any means persuade her to take refreshment. Then the King, in too changeable and irresolute a mood and too devoted in his affection for his wife, explained to her how the matter stood, having first exacted an oath from her that she would never betray the secret to anyone, and would keep the sapling as sacred as her own life.

The Queen, however, having got from him that which she had so dearly wished and prayed for, began to promise him greater devotion and love, although she had already conceived in her mind a device by which she might bring about the crime she had been so long deliberating. So on the following day, when the King had gone to the woods to hunt, she seized an axe, and secretly entering the garden, cut down the sapling to the ground, and carried it away with her. When, however, she found that the King was returning, she concealed the sapling under her sleeve, which

hung down long and loose, and went to the threshold of the door to meet him, and throwing her arms around him she embraced him as though she would have kissed him, and then suddenly thrust the sapling out from her sleeve and struck him on the head with it once and again, crying, "Be a wolf, be a wolf," meaning to add "and have the understanding of a wolf," but she added instead the words "have the understanding of a man." Nor was there any delay, but it came about as she had said; and he fled quickly to the woods with the hounds she set on him in pursuit, but his human understanding remained unimpaired. (9) Arthur, see, you have now learned in part the heart, the nature, and the ways of woman. Dismount now and eat, and afterwards I will relate at greater length what remains. For yours is a weighty question, and there are few who know how to answer it, and when I have told you all you will be but little the wiser.

Arthur. The matter goes very well and pleases me much. Follow up, follow up what you have begun.

Gorlagon. You are pleased then to hear what follows. Be attentive and I will proceed. (10) Then the Queen, having put to flight her lawful husband, at once summoned the young man of whom I have spoken, and having handed over to him the reins of government became his wife. But the wolf, after roaming for a space of two years in the recesses of the woods to which he had fled, allied himself with a wild she-wolf, and begot two cubs by her. And remembering the wrong done him by his wife (as he was still possessed of his human understanding), he anxiously considered if he could in any way take his revenge upon her. Now near that wood there was a fortress¹ at which the Queen was very often wont to sojourn with the King. And so this human wolf, looking out for his opportunity, took his she-wolf with her cubs one evening, and rushed unexpectedly into the town², and finding the two little boys of whom the

¹ *Castellum.*

² *In ipsis valvis pigris.*

aforesaid youth had become the father by his wife, playing by chance under the tower without anyone to guard them, he attacked and slew them, tearing them cruelly limb from limb. When the bystanders saw too late what had happened they pursued the wolves with shouts. The wolves, when what they had done was made known, fled swiftly away and escaped in safety. The Queen, however, overwhelmed with sorrow at the calamity, gave orders to her retainers to keep a careful watch for the return of the wolves. No long time had elapsed when the wolf, thinking that he was not yet satisfied, again visited the town with his companions, and meeting with two noble counts, brothers of the Queen, playing at the very gates of the palace, he attacked them, and tearing out their bowels gave them over to a frightful death. Hearing the noise, the servants assembled, and shutting the doors caught the cubs and hanged them. But the wolf, more cunning than the rest, slipped out of the hands of those who were holding him and escaped unhurt.

Arthur, dismount and eat, for yours is a weighty question and there are few who know how to answer it. And when I have told you all, you will be but little the wiser.¹

(11) *Gorlagon.* The wolf, overwhelmed with very great grief for the loss of his cubs and maddened by the greatness of his sorrow, made nightly forays against the flocks and herds of that province, and attacked them with such great slaughter that all the inhabitants, placing in ambush a large pack of hounds, met together to hunt and catch him; and the wolf, unable to endure these daily vexations, made for a neighbouring country and there began to carry on his usual ravages. However, he was at once chased from thence by the inhabitants, and compelled to go to a third country: and now he began to vent his rage with implacable fury, not only against the beasts but also against

"Arthur's refusal should follow, but there is no blank in the MS."—
G. L. KITTREDGE.

human beings. Now it chanced that a king was reigning over that country, young in years, of a mild disposition, and far-famed for his wisdom and industry: and when the countless destruction both of men and beasts wrought by the wolf was reported to him, he appointed a day on which he would set about to track and hunt the brute with a strong force of huntsmen and hounds. For so greatly was the wolf held in dread that no one dared to go to rest anywhere around, but everyone kept watch the whole night long against his inroads.

So one night when the wolf had gone to a neighbouring village, greedy for bloodshed, and was standing under the eaves of a certain house listening intently to a conversation that was going on within, it happened that he heard the man nearest him tell how the King had proposed to seek and track him down on the following day, much being added as to the clemency and kindness of the King. When the wolf heard this he returned trembling to the recesses of the woods, deliberating what would be the best course for him to pursue. (12) In the morning the huntsmen and the King's retinue with an immense pack of hounds entered the woods, making the welkin ring with the blast of horns and with shouting; and the King, accompanied by two of his intimate friends, followed at a more moderate pace. The wolf concealed himself near the road where the King was to pass, and when all had gone by and he saw the King approaching (for he judged from his countenance that it was the King) he dropped his head and ran close after him, and encircling the King's right foot with his paws he would have licked him affectionately like a suppliant asking for pardon, with such groanings as he was capable of. Then two noblemen who were guarding the King's person, seeing this enormous wolf (for they had never seen any of so vast a size), cried out, "Master, see here is the wolf we seek! see, here is the wolf we seek! strike him, slay him, do not let the hateful beast attack us!"

The wolf, utterly fearless of their cries, followed close after the King, and kept licking him gently. The King was wonderfully moved, and after looking at the wolf for some time and perceiving that there was no fierceness in him, but that he was rather like one who craved for pardon, was much astonished, and commanded that none of his men should dare to inflict any harm on him, declaring that he had detected some signs of human understanding in him; so putting down his right hand to caress the wolf he gently stroked his head and scratched his ears. Then the King seized the wolf and endeavoured to lift him up to him. But the wolf, perceiving that the King was desirous of lifting him up, leapt up, and joyfully sat upon the neck of the charger in front of the King.

The King recalled his followers,¹ and returned home. (13) He had not gone far when lo! a stag of vast size met him in the forest pasture with antlers erect. Then the King said, "I will try if there is any worth or strength in my wolf, and whether he can accustom himself to obey my commands." And crying out he set the wolf upon the stag and thrust him from him with his hand. The wolf, well knowing how to capture this kind of prey, sprang up and pursued the stag, and getting in front of it attacked it, and catching it by the throat laid it dead in sight of the King. Then the King called him back and said, "Of a truth you must be kept alive and not killed, seeing that you know how to show such service to us." And taking the wolf with him he returned home.

Arthur, dismount and eat. For yours is a weighty question, and there are few who know how to answer it; and when I have told you all my tale you will be but little the wiser.

Arthur. If all the gods were to cry from heaven "Arthur, dismount and eat," I would neither dismount nor eat until I had learnt the rest.

(14) *Gorlagon.* So the wolf remained with the King, and

¹ *Exercitu revocato.*

was held in very great affection by him. Whatever the King commanded him he performed, and he never showed any fierceness towards or inflicted any hurt upon any one. He daily stood at table before the King at dinner time with his forepaws erect, eating of his bread and drinking from the same cup. Wherever the King went he accompanied him, so that even at night he would not go to rest anywhere save beside his master's couch.

Now it happened that the King had to go on a long journey outside his kingdom to confer with another king, and to go at once, as it would be impossible for him to return in less than ten days. So he called his Queen, and said, "As I must go on this journey at once, I command this wolf to your protection, and I command you to keep him in my stead, if he will stay, and to minister to his wants." But the Queen already hated the wolf because of the great sagacity which she had detected in him (and as it so often happens that the wife hates whom the husband loves), and she said, "My lord, I am afraid that when you are gone he will attack me in the night if he lies in his accustomed place and will leave me mangled." The King replied, "Have no fear of that, for I have detected no such symptom in him all the long time he has been with me. However, if you have any doubt of it, I will have a chain made and will have him fastened up to my bed-ladder."¹ So the King gave orders that a chain of gold should be made, and when the wolf had been fastened up by it to the steps,¹ he hastened away to the business he had on hand.

Arthur, dismount and eat. For yours is a weighty question, there are few who know how to answer it; and when I have told you all my tale you will be but little the wiser.

Arthur. I have no wish to eat; and I beg you not to invite me to eat any more.

¹ *Et eum ad mei suppedanium ligari . . . qua lupo ad scansile ligato.* *Suppedanium*, a ladder by which one can climb on to a high bed. *Scansile*, *scandise*, the steps by which one can mount a horse, a horse-block.

(15) *Gorlagon.* So the King set out, and the wolf remained with the Queen. But she did not show the care for him which she ought to have done. For he always lay chained, up though the King had commanded that he should be chained up at night only. Now the Queen loved the King's sewer with an unlawful love, and went to visit him whenever the King was absent. So on the eighth day after the King had started, they met in the bedchamber at midday and mounted the bed together, little heeding the presence of the wolf. And when the wolf saw them rushing into each other's impious embraces he blazed forth with fury, his eyes reddening, and the hair on his neck standing up, and he began to make as though he would attack them, but was held back by the chain by which he was fastened. And when he saw they had no intention of desisting from the iniquity on which they had embarked, he gnashed his teeth, and dug up the ground with his paws, and venting his rage over all his body, with awful howls he stretched the chain with such violence that it snapped in two. When loose he rushed with fury upon the sewer and threw him from the bed, and tore him so savagely that he left him half-dead. But to the Queen he did no harm at all, but only gazed upon her with venom in his eye. Hearing the mournful groans of the sewer, the servants tore the door from its hinges and rushed in. When asked the cause of all the tumult, that cunning Queen concocted a lying story, and told the servants that the wolf had devoured her son, and had torn the sewer as they saw while he was attempting to rescue the little one from death, and that he would have treated her in the same way had they not arrived in time to succour her. So the sewer was brought half dead to the guest-chamber. But the Queen fearing that the King might somehow discover the truth of the matter, and considering how she might take her revenge on the wolf, shut up the child, whom she had represented as having been devoured by the wolf, along with his nurse in an under-

ground room far removed from any access ; every one being under the impression that he had in fact been devoured.

Arthur, dismount and eat. For yours is a weighty question, and few there are who know how to answer it : and when I have told my tale you will be but little the wiser.

Arthur. I pray you, order the table to be removed, as the service of so many dishes interrupts our conversation.

(16) *Gorlagon.* After these events news was brought to the Queen that the King was returning sooner than had been expected. So the deceitful woman, full of cunning, went forth to meet him with her hair cut close, and cheeks torn, and garments splashed with blood, and when she met him cried, " Alas ! Alas ! Alas ! my lord, wretched that I am, what a loss have I sustained during your absence !" At this the King was dumbfounded, and asked what was the matter, and she replied, " That wretched beast of yours, of yours I say, which I have but too truly suspected all this time, has devoured your son in my lap ; and when your sewer was struggling to come to the rescue the beast mangled and almost killed him, and would have treated me in the same way had not the servants broken in ; see here the blood of the little one splashed upon my garments is witness of the thing." Hardly had she finished speaking, when lo ! the wolf hearing the King approach, sprang forth from the bedchamber, and rushed into the King's embraces as though he well deserved them, jumping about joyfully, and gambolling with greater delight than he had ever done before. At this the King, distracted by contending emotions, was in doubt what he should do, on the one hand reflecting that his wife would not tell him an untruth, on the other that if the wolf had been guilty of so great a crime against him he would undoubtedly not have dared to meet him with such joyful bounds.

So while his mind was driven hither and thither on these matters and he refused food, the wolf sitting close by him touched his foot gently with his paw, and took the border of

his cloak into his mouth, and by a movement of the head invited him to follow him. The King, who understood the wolf's customary signals, got up and followed him through the different bedchambers to the underground room where the boy was hidden away. And finding the door bolted the wolf knocked three or four times with his paw, as much as to ask that it might be opened to him. But as there was some delay in searching for the key—for the Queen had hidden it away—the wolf, unable to endure the delay, drew back a little, and spreading out the claws of his four paws he rushed headlong at the door, and driving it in, threw it down upon the middle of the floor broken and shattered. Then running forward he took the infant from its cradle in his shaggy arms, and gently held it up to the King's face for a kiss. (17) The King marvelled and said, "There is something beyond this which is not clear to my comprehension." Then he went out after the wolf, who led the way, and was conducted by him to the dying sewer; and when the wolf saw the sewer, the King could scarcely restrain him from rushing upon him. Then the King sitting down in front of the sewer's couch, questioned him as to the cause of his sickness, and as to the accident which had occasioned his wounds. The only confession, however, he would make was that in rescuing the boy from the wolf, the wolf had attacked him; and he called the Queen to witness to the truth of what he said. The King in answer said, "You are evidently lying: my son lives: he was not dead at all, and now that I have found him and have convicted both you and the Queen of treachery to me, and of forging lying tales, I am afraid that something else may be false also. I know the reason why the wolf, unable to bear his master's disgrace, attacked you so savagely, contrary to his wont. Therefore confess to me at once the truth of the matter, else I swear by the Majesty of highest Heaven that I will deliver thee to the flames to burn." Then the wolf making an attack upon him pressed him close, and would have

mangled him again had he not been held back by the bystanders.

What need of many words? When the King insisted, sometimes with threats, sometimes with coaxing, the sewer confessed the crime of which he had been guilty, and humbly prayed to be forgiven. But the King, blazing out in an excess of fury, delivered the sewer up to be kept in prison, and immediately summoned the chief men from the whole of his kingdom to meet, and through them he held an investigation into the circumstances of this great crime, Sentence was given. The sewer was flayed alive and hanged. The Queen was torn limb from limb by horses and thrown into balls of flame.

Arthur, dismount and eat. For yours is a mighty question, and there are few who know how to answer it: and when I have told my tale you will be but little the wiser.

Arthur. If you are not tired of eating, you need not mind my fasting a little longer.

(18) *Gorlagon.* After these events the King pondered over the extraordinary sagacity and industry of the wolf with close attention and great persistence, and afterwards discussed the subject more fully with his wise men, asserting that a being who was clearly endued with such great intelligence must have the understanding of a man, "for no beast," he argued, "was ever found to possess such great wisdom, or to show such great devotion to any one as this wolf has shown to me. For he understands perfectly whatever we say to him: he does what he is ordered: he always stands by me, wherever I may be: he rejoices when I rejoice, and when I am in sorrow, he sorrows too. And you must know that one who has avenged with such severity the wrong which has been done me must undoubtedly have been a man of great sagacity and ability, and must have assumed the form of a wolf under some spell or incantation." At these words the wolf, who was standing by the King, showed great joy, and licking his hands and feet and

pressing close to his knees, showed by the expression of his countenance and the gesture of his whole body that the King had spoken the truth.

(19) Then the King said, "See with what gladness he agrees with what I say, and shows by unmistakable signs that I have spoken the truth. There can now be no further doubt about the matter, and would that power might be granted me to discover whether by some act or device I might be able to restore him to his former state, even at the cost of my worldly substance; nay, even at the risk of my life." So, after long deliberation, the King at length determined that the wolf should be sent off to go before him, and to take whatever direction he pleased whether by land or by sea. "For perhaps," said he, "if we could reach his country we might get to know what has happened and find some remedy for him."

So the wolf was allowed to go where he would, and they all followed after him. And he at once made for the sea, and impetuously dashed into the waves as though he wished to cross. Now his own country adjoined that region, being however, separated from it on one side by the sea, though in another direction it was accessible by land, but by a longer route. The King, seeing that he wished to cross over, at once gave orders that the fleet should be launched and that the army should assemble.

Arthur, dismount and eat. For yours is a weighty question: and few there are who know how to answer it: and when I have told my tale you will be but little the wiser.

Arthur. The wolf being desirous of crossing the sea, is standing on the beach. I am afraid that if he is left alone he will be drowned in his anxiety to get over.

(20) *Gorlagon.* So the King, having ordered his ship, and duly equipped his army, approached the sea with a great force of soldiers, and on the third day he landed safely at the wolf's country; and when they reached the shore the

wolf was the first to leap from the ship, and clearly signified to them by his customary nod and gesture that this was his country. Then the King, taking some of his men with him, hastened secretly to a certain neighbouring city, commanding his army to remain on shipboard until he had looked into the affair and returned to them. However, he had scarcely entered the city when the whole course of events became clear to him. For all the men of that province, both of high and low degree, were groaning under the intolerable tyranny of the king who had succeeded to the wolf, and were with one voice lamenting their master, who by the craft and subtlety of his wife had been changed into a wolf, remembering what a kind and gentle master he was.

So having discovered what he wanted to know, and having ascertained where the king of that province was then living, the King returned with all speed to his ships, marched out his troops, and attacking his adversary suddenly and unexpectedly, slew or put to flight all his defenders, and captured both him and his Queen and made them subject to his dominion.

Arthur, dismount and eat. For yours is a mighty question : and there are few who know how to answer it : and when I have finished my tale you will be but little the wiser for it.

Arthur. You are like a harper who almost before he has finished playing the music of a song, keeps on repeatedly interposing the concluding passages without anyone singing to his accompaniment.

(21) *Gorlagon.* So the King, relying on his victory, assembled a council of the chief men of the kingdom, and setting the Queen in the sight of them all, said, "O most perfidious and wicked of women, what madness induced you to plot such great treachery against your lord ! But I will not any longer bandy words with one who has been judged unworthy of intercourse with anyone ; so answer

the question I put to you at once, for I will certainly cause you to die of hunger and thirst and exquisite tortures, unless you show me where the sapling lies hidden with which you transformed your husband into a wolf. Perhaps the human shape which he has lost may thereby be recovered." Whereupon she swore that she did not know where the sapling was, saying that it was well known that it had been broken up and burnt in the fire. However, as she would not confess, the King handed her over to the tormentors, to be daily tortured and daily exhausted with punishments, and allowed her neither food nor drink. So at last, compelled by the severity of her punishment, she produced the sapling and handed it to the King. (22) And the King took it from her, and with glad heart brought the wolf forward into the midst, and striking his head with the thicker part of the sapling, added these words, "Be a man and have the understanding of a man." And no sooner were the words spoken than the effect followed. The wolf became a man as he had been before, though far more beautiful and comely, being now possessed of such grace that one could at once detect that he was a man of great nobility. The King seeing a man of such great beauty metamorphosed from a wolf standing before him, and pitying the wrongs the man had suffered, ran forward with great joy and embraced him, kissing and lamenting him and shedding tears. And as they embraced each other they drew such long protracted sighs and shed so many tears that all the multitude standing around were constrained to weep. The one returned thanks for all the many kindnesses which had been shown him : the other lamented that he had behaved with less consideration than he ought. What more? Extraordinary joy is shown by all, and the King, having received the submission of the principal men, according to ancient custom, retook possession of his sovereignty. Then the adulterer and adulteress were brought into his presence, and he was consulted as to what he judged ought to be

done with them. And he condemned the pagan king to death. The Queen he only divorced, but of his inborn clemency spared her life, though she well deserved to lose it. The other King, having been honoured and enriched with costly presents, as was befitting, returned to his own kingdom.

Now, Arthur, you have learned what the heart, the nature, and the ways of women are. Have a care for yourself and see if you are any the wiser for it. Dismount now and eat, for we have both well deserved our meal, I for the tale I have told, and you for listening to it.

(23) *Arthur.* I will by no means dismount until you have answered the question I am about to ask you.

Gorlagon. What is that?

Arthur. Who is that woman sitting opposite you of a sad countenance, and holding before her in a dish a human head bespattered with blood, who has wept whenever you have smiled, and who has kissed the bloodstained head whenever you have kissed your wife during the telling of your tale?

Gorlagon. If this thing were known to me alone, Arthur (he replied), I would by no means tell it you; but as it is well known to all who are sitting at table with me, I am not ashamed that you also should be made acquainted with it. That woman who is sitting opposite me, she it was who, as I have just told you, wrought so great a crime against her lord, that is to say against myself. In me you may recognise that wolf who, as you have heard, was transformed first from a man into a wolf, and then from a wolf into a man again. When I became a wolf it is evident that the kingdom to which I first went was that of my middle brother, King Gorleil. And the King who took such great pains to care for me you can have no doubt was my youngest brother, King Gargol, to whom you came in the first instance. And the bloodstained head which that woman sitting opposite me embraces in the dish

she has in front of her is the head of that youth for love of whom she wrought so great a crime against me. For when I returned to my proper shape again, in sparing her life, I subjected her to this penalty only, namely, that she should always have the head of her paramour before her, and that when I kiss'd the wife I had married in her stead she should imprint kisses on him for whose sake she had committed that crime. And I had the head embalmed to keep it free from putrefaction. For I knew that no punishment could be more grievous to her than a perpetual exhibition of her great wickedness in the sight of all the world.

(24) Arthur, dismount now, if you so desire, for now that I have invited you, you will, so far as I am concerned, from henceforth remain where you are.

So Arthur dismounted and ate, and on the following day returned home a nine days' journey, marvelling greatly at what he had heard.

FRANK A. MILNE.

NOTES.

The foregoing tale, apart from a possible reference by Madden (*Sir Garwayne*, p. x., note), seems to have escaped the notice of all Arthurian students until Professor G. L. Kittredge of Harvard edited it last year, and made it the subject of what I do not hesitate to pronounce one of the most remarkable and valuable examples of storyological research known to me. In what follows I do little more than summarise and paraphrase Professor Kittredge's investigation, with the addition of certain views of my own, and I would strongly urge all interested in mediæval romance and in folktale research not to content themselves with my summary but to refer to and master the original. Professor Kittredge should not be held responsible for any imperfections in my exposition of his masterly argument, the plan of which I have not thought it necessary to retain.

It will at once be apparent to a storyologist of any experience that the task which Arthur has to achieve is one in which success is only possible by the aid, unwillingly given, of a supernatural

personage upon whom pressure has to be put, in this case, the refusal to partake of his hospitality ; a pressure analogous to that legally recognised in the codes of Brahminic India and early Ireland for the purpose of exacting settlement of debt. As in most tales of this class, the supernatural helper at first succeeds in eluding the request of his mortal applicant. Twice Arthur yields to the invitation to dismount and eat, and it is only on his showing himself firm that, at the third attempt, he meets with success. Professor Kittredge's conjecture that the three kings are in reality one and the same personage must command universal assent. The three names (if we disregard *Torleil* as due to a scribal error) are variant Welsh terms signifying *Werwolf*, and in fact etymologically allied to the Teutonic term.¹ The story thus follows the familiar conventions of fairydom—the supernatural helper is compelled to give the mortal three chances, and that mortal, stupid or incurious though he be, always pulls off the third one.

But if this is so, our version has obviously suffered modification. The second and third kings cannot be the werwolf's brothers, as is indeed evident from the conduct of the story. The werwolf knows nothing of the third king when he appeals to him for protection, which would be absurd if he were really his brother. The statement really testifies to a confused reminiscence of the essential identity of the three informants. Furthermore, traces of contamination are glaringly evident. There is "superfluity of naughtiness" in the duplication of the adultery theme ; and the *Gellert* episode—the false accusation resting upon the wolf of having slain the child—is dragged in clumsily. On the other hand, the form and conduct of the story wear an archaic and genuine *folk* character ; the triadic arrangement, the repeated attempts, couched in a set formula, to induce Arthur to desist, find their parallels in the phenomena of popular story-telling generally, but especially in those of Gaelic popular story-telling as it still flourishes, and as it can be proved to have flourished for the last eight hundred years at least. No one familiar with Gaelic story-telling (whether in its Irish or Scotch form) can fail to

¹ Gorlagon is by metathesis for *Gorgalon*, an expanded form of *Gorgol* = Old Welsh *Guruol* or *Guorguol*, the first syllable of which is cognate to Latin *vir*, Anglo-Saxon *wer*, whilst the second was equated by Professor Rhys with the Germanic *wolf* over twenty years ago.

recognise in *Arthur and Gorlagon* an example of the genre. Thus by the end of the fourteenth century at the latest, a Celtic and characteristically Celtic folktale was put into Latin, probably suffering in this transition from a vernacular to a learned language those modifications which are immediately apparent, as also, possibly, others. The Latin narrator had a Welsh original, as is proved by the forms of the names : this original was almost certainly complete and homogeneous, as is evident from the "folk" character of the incidents and framework.

Let us now turn to the consideration of parallels. The closest is a folktale still widely current in Gaeldom (Professor Kittredge bases his analysis on some ten versions ranging over the entire Gaelic area from Kerry to the Hebrides), the type-example being MORRAHA (*Larminie, West Irish Folk-Tale*, reprinted in Jacobs, *More Celtic Fairy Tales*). Briefly, it runs thus :

The hero games with a supernatural being, wins twice, loses third time, has task laid upon him to obtain the sword of light and knowledge of the one story about woman. Acting on the advice of his (fairy) wife, hero rides to her father, is there furnished with another horse that brings him to owner of the sword of light, Niall. At a third attempt he secures the sword, and threatening the owner with it, learns, at the persuasion of latter's wife, the story. Niall knew language of animals, and casually learnt thereby the existence of the magic rod ; he laughed, had, on his wife's insistence, to explain why, was by her changed first into a raven, then into a horse, fox, wolf. As wolf he is hunted by, but secures protection of, King, guards the latter's child against the attack of a monstrous hand, is accused, but, trusted by King, recovers the child, whose attendant he becomes, and whom he ultimately persuades to strike him with the magic rod and thereby effect his re-transformation to human shape. His wife offers to drown herself, but Niall says if she will keep the secret, he will. Niall afterwards tracks the monster of the hand, slays him, recovers the elder children of the King, and directs the hero how to deal with his supernatural adversary, who is the brother of the monster of the hand.¹

¹ In this summary and in the references to MORRAHA in the following pages, use is made of the other variants ; no one version preserves all the incidents and traits.

The framework here, it will be seen, is more elaborate than in ARTHUR AND GORLAGON and is of a different nature. The mortal hero is set in motion by an inimical supernatural being, who wishes to be revenged upon his brother's slayer. He fails, in accordance with the convention of fairydom, as his success would be the hero's failure. The same contamination with the Gellert story appears as in ARTHUR AND GORLAGON ; also with the theme of the Child-Stealing Monster. The triadic arrangement is not so rigidly kept. The werewolf's wife, instead of being an altogether repugnant personage for whom no punishment is too bad, is not borne upon hardly by the story-teller and comes off at the end quite easily. We may surmise from this that ARTHUR AND GORLAGON in addition to modification by the Gellert story, has likewise been modified by one of the current mediæval versions of the familiar Eastern stories of woman's faithlessness and punishment.

Turn we now to the Mediæval parallels. Both style themselves "Breton lays"; one, the *Lai de Melion*, is certainly not later than 1250, and may be much earlier; the other, the *Lai de Bisclavret* of Marie de France, is not later than 1180.

In MELION the hero, hunting in a wood, meets a beautiful woman who has come to him from Ireland, who loves but him alone and has never loved before; this falls in with a vow he had made to have no *amie* who had ever loved another. He marries her; she learns that he possesses a congenital talisman capable of transforming him into a wolf, lures from him the secret, makes use of it, and returns to her father, taking one of her husband's servants with her. The wolf follows, becomes leader of a band, and ravages the country. The father-in-law organises a hunt, in which all the wolves are killed except the werewolf; the latter ingratiates himself with his wife's father, by whom he is protected against her. He then attaches himself to Arthur, who comes on a visit to Ireland. One day he sees the servant who had accompanied his wife, and attacks him. The bystanders would slay him, but Arthur protects him, and divining a mystery, forces the servant to confess. Melion is re-transformed and comes to England with Arthur, leaving the guilty wife behind him.

This tale, as is evident, stands in close relation to both ARTHUR AND GORLAGON and to MORRAHA, and represents a simpler stage

of development. The framework is lacking, as are also any signs of contamination from the *Gellert* and *Attack on the Child* themes. It has, however, obviously been modified to fit it into the Arthurian cycle, Arthur sharing with the werwolf's father-in-law the rôle of the protector-king. The hero's relation to this personage explains how it is that he finds his wife at the Court, a point which MORRAHA has preserved, but for which it does not account. In the treatment of the wife MELION is nearer to MORRAHA than to ARTHUR AND GORLAGON; although pronounced guilty, she is spared. The most notable feature is that preserved by the opening; the hero is wooed by a maiden who comes from Ireland, and who returns to her own country when she has, as she thinks, got rid of him. The significance of this will be made plain presently.

In the *Lai de Bisclaveret* of Marie de France the story runs thus:

The hero is a born werwolf, compelled to pass three days of every week in his animal shape; the change is effected by putting off his clothes. The wife discovers this, hides the clothes, and marries a lover of hers. The hunt by the King takes place as in other versions; the werwolf wins the King's favour, resides at his court, and whilst there attacks his wife's second husband, and, later, his wife. The mystery is disclosed, the wife is compelled under torture to give up the clothes, the werwolf regains his human form, and the wife is banished with her second husband.

Here then is a simple and straightforward version of one of the themes, the main one, found in the allied stories. It cannot be derived either from MELION or from the common original which may be assumed to lie at the back of ARTHUR AND GORLAGON and MORRAHA. On the other hand it cannot be their sole source. It proves that what may be styled the *Werwolf's Tale* proper once existed apart from the other elements found in MELION, ARTHUR AND GORLAGON, and MORRAHA.

As regards the relationship of the other three versions, MELION cannot have come from the Welsh original of ARTHUR AND GORLAGON, as it lacks the framework, and as it has preserved an opening of which no traces are found in the Welsh tale. For the same reasons it cannot be the direct source of that tale; which again cannot have originated MORRAHA, as the latter has retained

decided traces of that presentment of the wife found in MELION. We must thus assume that ARTHUR AND GORLAGON and MORRAHA go back to a common original, itself akin to MELION, but neither derived from, nor the source of, that version. This further source postulated for all three tales may be called *X*, and its first offshoot is MELION, modified by insertion into the Arthur cycle. There was probably no framework-setting in *X*, as otherwise the absence of this feature in MELION would be inexplicable. But at some date *X* was set in a framework and in this stage gave rise to the Welsh original of ARTHUR AND GORLAGON. It continued to live on in the Gaelic-speaking area subject to both elaboration and change, until it assumed that form in which it is still found among the peasantry of Ireland and Scotland. But *X* itself, as we have seen, cannot have come from Marie's lay; both must go back ultimately to a common source.

In endeavouring to reconstruct *X*, made up as we have seen of the *Werewolf's Tale* (found separate in BISCLAVERET) plus elements common to the other three versions, MELION is of most value, and after MELION the current folktales which, though recorded so much later than ARTHUR AND GORLAGON, may fairly be assumed to have retained archaic "folk" elements in a more perfect form. We saw above that both are distinguished from ARTHUR AND GORLAGON by the more lenient view taken of the wife's conduct and by the fact that the latter returns to her father's land whither she is followed by the transformed husband. Only MELION, however, has preserved the significant opening incident which, as Professor Kittredge conjectures, proves the wife to be of supernatural kin. He then reconstructs the basis of *X* as follows: Allured, it may be, by the hero's prowess, the supernatural maiden comes to woo him, as is so frequently the case in Irish mythic romance. But she has left behind her a lover of her kin, who follows her, and after a while persuades her to return to their own land of Faery. Thither the mortal husband follows and—should recover her. Thus, indeed, the story runs in one of the most famous of old Irish mythic romances, the *Wooing of Etain*. Etain is an immortal, wife of Mider; reborn in mortal form she is met at a spring side by Eochaid, King of Ireland, who is seeking a wife, but will not be content save with one, "whom no man of the men of Erin had known before him." They wed; Mider follows her to mortal land, wins her from Eochaid in a

threefold gaming (an incident still found, though in different connection, in the current folktale), and carries her back to fairyland, whither Eochaid pursues them, ultimately recovering her.

A story, not necessarily the *Wooing of Etain*, but one constructed on similar lines, was, so Professor Kittredge assumes, amalgamated with the *Werwolf's Tale* in somewhat the same stage of development as we find the latter in *BISCLAVERET*, and thus originated the postulated version *X*. The *Werwolf's Tale* itself must have passed through different stages of development corresponding to altered feelings respecting the subject matter. Originally we must assume that the werwolf was a sympathetic personage, firstly because in folk-story-telling the hero is sympathetic by definition, secondly, because in the culture stage to which we may fairly refer the first shaping of the story the half-animal nature would not carry with it an idea of the repugnant or unhallowed. But such an idea undoubtedly did arise, and is reflected in the vast mass of werwolf stories and conceptions. A stage may thus be postulated in which the wife (unsympathetic originally as being opposed to the hero, but not morally culpable), becomes the sympathetic personage. Still later, sympathy would be shifted back by exciting pity for the hero (originally an object of envy as possessor of a highly desirable power), as one subject to a degrading liability, and by attaching moral blame to the faithless wife. The oldest recorded version of Marie's *Bisclavret* belongs to this stage of development.

The fusion of these two story-types, the one concerned with the love-affairs of a fairy damsel ultimately won and lost by mortal and immortal lover, the other, the *Werwolf's Tale*, dealing with the separation of husband and wife deliberately effected by the latter, offers, it will be seen, no theoretical difficulty. When it took place the *Etain* type had already in all likelihood suffered considerable change. In the oldest stratum of Irish fairy mistress romances nothing is more notable than the position of the heroine. She woos; she bestows or withdraws her favours with absolute freedom; the mortal lover neither acquires nor claims any rights. But even within the range of Gaelic romance, closely though it clings to ancient convention, slightly as it is affected by non-Gaelic culture, there can be traced a change from this superb, over-moral attitude on the part of the woman to one more consonant with ordinary human conditions. The free self-centred goddess, regally prodigal of her love, jealously guarding her inde-

pendence, becomes a capricious or faithless woman. Such a process would be facilitated and hastened by the fusion of the two story-types postulated above; what in either was equivocal in the character of the heroine would put on a darker aspect. The process affects the machinery of the tale as well as the attitude of the narrator; it facilitates the change by which, following the lines of another group of tales, the transformation of the werwolf is ascribed to inimicably exercised magic instead of to a congenital attribute; its extreme development is reached in *ARTHUR AND GORLAGON*, partly remodelled as this is by the clerky Latin translator upon the lines of the Eastern stories of woman's faithlessness so well represented in the *Seven Sages* cycle. It is noteworthy that the current folktale, whilst exhibiting the altered machinery, which indeed it still further alters and complicates, does not go to anything like the same length in the change of moral attitude. The popular tale retains a blurred but unmistakable kinship of sentiment with the old mythic romance.

I have only given the broad outlines of Professor Kittredge's admirable study; the reader must be referred to the original for the numerous detail pieces of investigation concerning special story-types and incidents, their action and interaction, the rationale of story-change, which make his work fascinating reading for the storyologist. Space fails me for further comment or criticism, but I may be allowed to emphasise two of his conclusions. He points out that *ARTHUR AND GORLAGON* has been preserved by a mere accident; were it unknown the use of MORRAHA "in elucidating the history of documents so venerable as the Breton *lais*" would certainly be criticised; "what, use a modern folktale?" it would be said, "how uncritical!" Yet the preservation of the Latin-Welsh tale does not make our use of the current folktale right, it only enables us to prove that it is right. The second conclusion I would state in Professor Kittredge's own words: "The specific results of our study are to emphasise the importance of Irish material, and even of 'modern Irish' folklore in settling these questions" (*i.e.*, the influence of Celtic upon mediæval romance).

Having steadfastly championed these views ever since my first work for the Folk-Lore Society, now near a quarter of a century old, I may be permitted some satisfaction in finding them so ably urged by the distinguished scholar upon whom has fallen the mantle of Francis James Child.

COLLECTANEA.

A WITCH-DOCTOR'S KIT, FROM MAGILA, EAST CENTRAL AFRICA.

(Read at Meeting, 20th January, 1904.)

IT would be almost impossible to travel in Central Africa without coming into contact with the results of Witchcraft. Even the few months that I spent there in 1896 were sufficient to show me how real is its strength and how evil its influence.

But really reliable information on the subject is difficult to obtain. Those who practise it naturally prefer to keep their knowledge to themselves, and not lose a profitable source of income. Direct questions by a European to a native on such a subject, if answered at all, would only lead to false replies and confusion of ideas. There is also a further difficulty. The languages are in most cases in a state of transition, and in order to convey a new idea to the native we either have to adopt words from English, Arabic, or Portuguese, or else to take a native word which may already have a special meaning of its own. In the latter case we attach our own meaning to it, and are apt to imagine that this will be conveyed to the native by the use of the word, whilst in his mind the word gives a different idea, although he may be unable to define it. The opportunities for error and misunderstanding on both sides are therefore very great.¹

¹ The following is a case in point. A newly-arrived member of the Universities' Mission recently created some little surprise by stating that while on a visit to another mission on Lake Nyasa, she had been shown two idols, and had been given "an account of the idolatry of the district" derived from a young native Christian. Now it is well known that there is no idolatry in East Central Africa.

It seems, however, to be certain that in Eastern Central Africa there are two classes of people who practise witchcraft.

(1) Witches and wizards, who only try to hurt and injure others.

(2) Witch-doctors. These may do harm, but can also provide antidotes and charms of a more powerful nature than the "medicine" of the witch. They are supposed also to be able to prevent failure of crops, to have the power of making wild animals carry out their wishes, to be able to treat diseases, and in fact to meet any emergency.

I. *Wizards and witches* are supposed to work by night. Visiting the huts of their victims they place poison in the mouth, unless the sleeper is protected by wearing or using a charm. In these poisons the *ejecta* of the human body, nail-parings, &c., hold a prominent part. In other cases large snail-shells are buried by night at the door of the man against whom spite is entertained. Another

Africa, and that whilst rude figures, or objects resembling figures, are used for purposes of witchcraft, they are never used for worship. The Rev. E. B. L. Smith, who joined the mission in 1884, writes : "I know of a large number of objects used for calming and raising storms, securing good luck for persons and things (canoes, fishing-nets, guns, &c.) and ill luck for enemies. Of natural or manufactured objects intended for worship or regarded as the temporary or local habitation of a divinity or spirits, such as are found on the West Coast and in other parts of the world, I have never seen or heard of a single instance. . . . It is possible that some of Burton's tribe from the West may be settled somewhere about Mwera, and that the young Christian native, from whom the account of the idolatry was obtained, may belong to it, and that the objects obtained are such as Miss Kingsley and others have described. I am more inclined to think that the young native Christian rather reflected ideas gleaned from mission teaching and Bible reading (with a special stress on the Old Testament) in his accounts of the local idolatry, than the wisdom of the ancients of his people. We bring them new ideas, and either new names by which to call them, or we requisition a term with a meaning already well comprehended in their minds, though they may not be able to define it well for ours. In either case we are apt to insist that the terms mean exactly what *we* mean by them, and to forget that quite possibly they are used in an entirely different sense by the native who hears them for the first time, or who, forgetful of the new technical force, mingles with them other and older associations. Thus in the present primitive state of our knowledge of African tongues—still variable and devoid of literature—it is so hard to realise the precise value, each to each, of the many words that we employ to denote worship, idols, &c., that the margin for error, misapprehension, and the reading in of entirely foreign ideas, is almost boundless; and this apart from any suspicion of bias or the equally insidious vice of putting leading questions."—*Central Africa*, No. 250, p. 198.

powerful "medicine" is obtained by the use of *vizulu*. These are simply bits of sticks about four or five inches long which have been charmed, then smeared over with some substance, the composition of which is uncertain.¹ They are then wrapped round with white calico and are supposed after this to have the power of motion and of sucking the blood of the victim and thus causing his death.

There appears to be little doubt that witchcraft can cause death, either by the administration of poison, which the victim may sometimes take in his food, or by the state of abject fear into which he is thrown, when he will gradually pine away, unable to shake off the influence (possibly mesmeric) which has seized him.

In British Central Africa and in Equatorial Africa (I have not heard of it in German East Africa) witches practise the disgusting habit of exhuming and eating human remains. In the first-named country it is necessary on this account to take special precautions to guard the graves of those who are buried away from their huts in the Christian cemetery. (The native custom is to bury the dead inside the hut, where they are of course fairly safe from body-snatchers.)

II. The *Witch-Doctor* apparently does not resort to these abominations. Occasionally he may consult an oracle or use divining rods. The oracle sometimes consists of the skin of a small animal stuffed with herbs which act as "medicine." He has two principal branches of his art, surgery and exorcism. These are closely allied to each other, for nearly every disease is supposed to be due to evil spirits. I was fortunate enough whilst at Kologwé, in German East Africa, to see a witch-doctor at work. The sound of the drum one evening told us that something unusual was taking place in the village near the Mission station at which I was a guest, and the nature of the noise told us also that the performance was not a "bad" dance; the grossly indecent character of which would deter any respectable European from being present at it without urgent cause. We went into the village. The clear light of the full moon was sufficient to show distinctly all that was going on. In an open space between the huts a fire of sticks was burning on the ground. Close by sat the patient, a woman who had rheumatism in

¹ Canon Dale (of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa) implies the use of flour, but Archdeacon Woodward in a letter written from Magila in 1903 states that they are covered with blood.

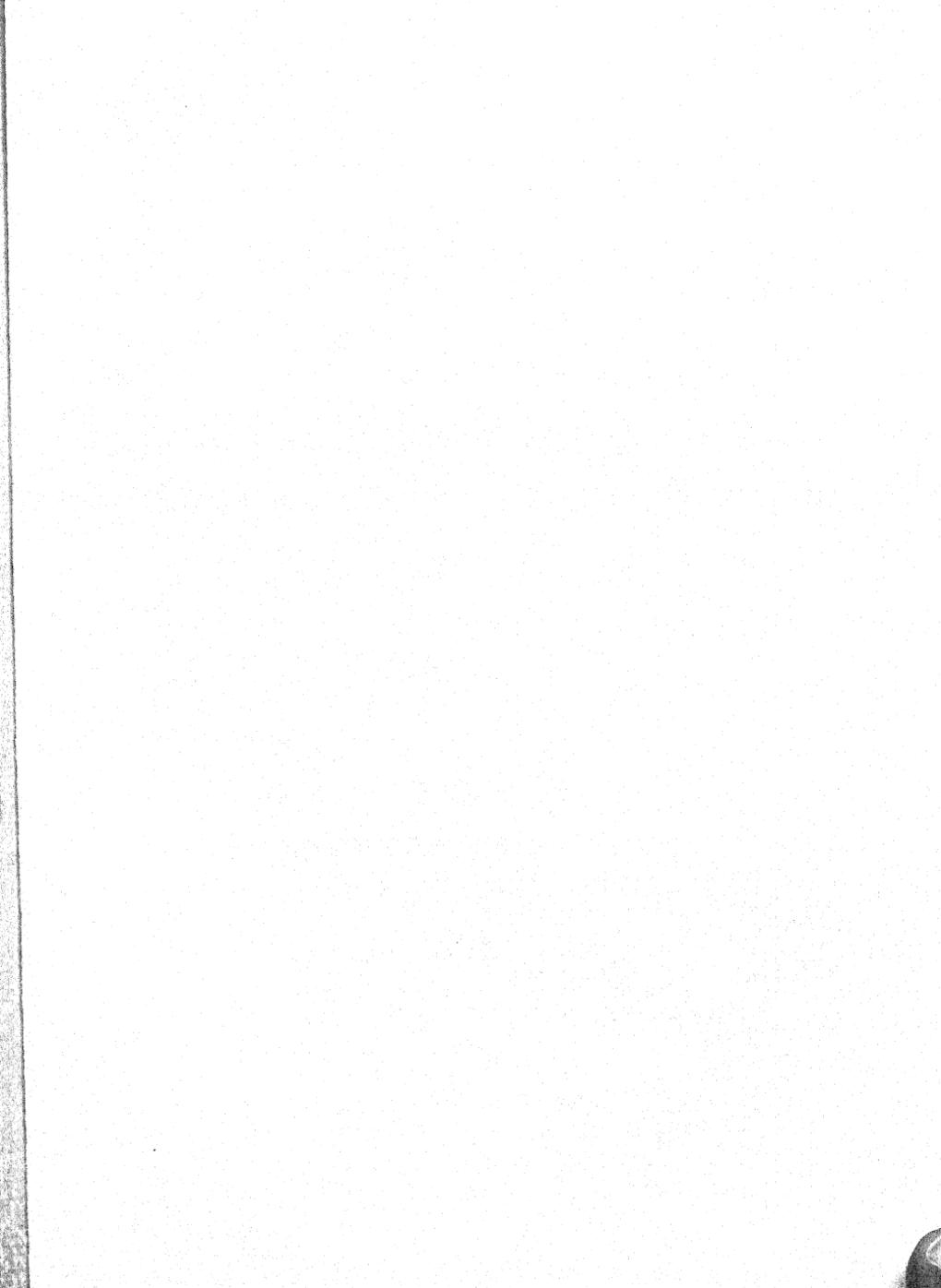


PLATE I.



A WITCH-DOCTOR'S KIT FROM MAGILA.

(EAST CENTRAL AFRICA.)

her shoulder. Above her stood the witch-doctor, who at intervals took some ointment or mess from a vessel near him and vigorously rubbed the shoulder with it. To the European this would naturally seem the effective part of the treatment, but to the native the important part lay in the noise created by two assistants, one of whom beat three small drums with his hands, whilst the other with the keenest relish was engaged in striking a battered oil-tin with sticks. The noise would drive out the evil spirit which caused the trouble. Presently the doctor paused. The woman rose, rushed full speed round a couple of huts three or four times, went into one of them twice, and then danced backwards and forwards between the fire and the nearest hut, constantly keeping her eyes fixed on the full moon, and occasionally snatching a corn-cob from a basket near the fire, gnawing at it whilst she danced. In time, however, the noise became distracting and the proceedings monotonous; and after an attempt to secure a photograph we returned to the Mission station.

Such a witch-doctor as this man would have had to pass through a long and severe course of apprenticeship to some recognised authority before he could be accepted as a practitioner. On applying for instruction, a lad would have to bring his master a cockerel just beginning to crow, and he would then be taught how to lay the divining-rods, would scarify patients who consulted his master, and would learn the names of the various gourds and vessels. Until he became fully qualified he would get no fees.

The basket, tools, and vessels which I exhibit to-night (Plate I.) belonged to a witch-doctor in the Magila district of German East Africa. At his death they were inherited by a relative who was a Christian, and through him were sent to England. They are now in my possession. The following description of them is quoted from the account (derived from the Rev. W. G. Harrison of Magila) by the Rev. F. R. Hodgson in *Central Africa*, a magazine of the Universities' Mission, No. 250, p. 194 (Partridge & Co.). Notice that the scarifying knife is a broken and rusty European table-knife, and that the influence of the white man's power is further seen in a rusty farthing tin lamp, which forms one of the vessels (fig. 13).

"I. is a packet, wrapped in a cob-sheath of Indian corn, of a preparation made from green shoots (called *kongo*) and sheep's dung. This is used by the *mganga* (medicine-man) before handling

his medicines, as they contain poisons, and are also charmed to have an evil effect on those with whom they come in contact. It is an antidote, with which he wipes his hands before operations.

" II. contains a powder made from tree-roots and leaves; its use is to protect cornfields from theft. The medicine-man perambulates the field singing and sprinkling the medicine on the ground, making the bell on the medicine-bottle [fig. 2a] ring as he goes round. The belief is that any thief who crosses the trail will die. (This is properly a Digo medicine, not Bondé.) It is also used for personal protection against witchcraft. The people desiring this assurance call the *mganga*, who sprinkles the medicine in a circle round them, using incantations to the effect that anyone who seeks to harm them with witchcraft will only harm himself. Often greater protection is ensured by being inoculated or tattooed —the skin is cut, and medicine like soot rubbed into cuts. This medicine is kept in

" III. *Kobo ya paa* (bottle of the gazelle), so called from the fact that the bottle is made from the skull of a gazelle, and bound with banana leaf. The stopper is at the nose.

" IV. is a choice medicine-bottle with a bell attached to it. This is hung on the outside of the *mganga*'s basket, and when he is on the march the bell sounds, so that people may hear there is a medicine-man passing along the road, and call him in if required, or at least pay him due respect when they meet him. The wooden stopper of this bottle is specially ornamented with a roughly carved head, which is meant to frighten people.¹ In early days of the Mission, dolls' heads were objects of envy to the witch-doctors. The skin of a young goat on the neck of the bottle testifies to the skill of the *mganga*—that he works cures, so receives goats. The better bottles are generally gourds enveloped in skins—perhaps to give them the appearance of being alive, as well as to show that the doctor has earned many goats.

" When arrived at his destination the wizard puts his basket down and takes out his various *koba* (gourds), &c. The large gourd

" V., always stays in the basket, with the lid closed over it. It is the stock-bottle, and the medicines of Nos. IV. and VI. are

¹ [*I.e.* to scare away thieves?—ED.]

supplied from it. No. V. is called *Baba* (the father), and is supposed to have given birth to IV. and VI.

"VI. is a gourd containing medicine for curing *kambaka* (consumption). Oil is put into the small gourd, and the powder becomes a paste, which is then plastered on the patient's breast, &c., after the outer skin has been freely scarified with the knife (6a).

"VII. contains medicine for a woman who is barren. First she has to provide a black hen; then she is tattooed, and the powder out of the gourd is rubbed in; next the blue beads round the bottle are given her to wear as a necklace, and lastly the black hen is tied on her back, just as the baby is carried by a mother. The woman has to carry the hen for a fortnight and feed it with her hand from her own food, just as she would feed her child—in fact, the hen is treated like a baby in every way.

"VIII. and IX. are pots made of clay and covered with skin. They are used for *uchawi wa baruti*—gunpowder witchcraft—so called because gunpowder is used in the preparation of this medicine. It is supposed to be effective for all skin diseases, itch, &c., and is rubbed in all over the body after superficial incisions have been made in the skin.

"X. are two pieces of human bone, by which the medicines have been pounded, and through which the *mganga* obtains his power. Lastly, there are several odd gourds—one receptacle made out of a snail's shell (10a), &c.—and

"XI., the basket (*mkwiji*) which the *mganga* always carries, and which contains the whole stock-in-trade."

The other objects included in the kit and figured on Plate I. are :

12. Antelope horn with ornamental network on rim.
18. Necklaces used by the witch-doctor. Various gourds carried by the doctor, not numbered.¹

It is quite possible that the medicine-men may be acquainted

¹ The remaining objects figured on the plate do not form part of the kit, viz. :

14. Charm to keep off witchcraft, made of glass beads and wood.
15. A Bondé charm, of goatskin and paper, with written characters.
16. A Mohammedan charm from Zanzibar.
17. Paper charm with Arabic inscription, worn in a case similar to that of No. 16.

with drugs and poisons unknown to us. The following story, told by Canon Dale in *African Tidings* for 1901, p. 41, seems to point to this conclusion. The Canon is writing of events during his residence at Mkuzi, a village about seven miles from Magila, in German East Africa, and perhaps 30 miles from the seaport of Tanga: "A man wished to get rid of his enemy, so he went to a native doctor and asked for some medicine of sufficient power to kill a man. The doctor gave it to him. The man distrusted the doctor and the efficacy of his drug, so he thought he would try it on the doctor himself first. Accordingly he went to the doctor's *shamba* and hid the medicine in a hole under a papaw tree. Soon after, a slave-girl belonging to the doctor came along, reached the spot where the medicine was concealed, and fell down dead then and there. But some one had seen the man conceal the drug, and accused him to the doctor, and the doctor carried him before the native judge. The native judge refused to give any damages. He said, 'No, my friend! if you deal in such medicines you deserve all and more than you have got. I absolutely refuse to consider your case.' Then the whole district in the person of the elders went to this doctor and told him, 'If ever we hear of a similar case we will either kill you or drive you out of the country.' Now the significant point in the whole case is that of the accused, accuser, judge, and people, not a single person had the slightest doubt that the medicine really *did* kill the slave-girl. The only sceptic in the district was myself, and I am still open to conviction one way or the other."

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WIZARDRY ON THE WELSH BORDER.

(*Read at Meeting, 17th February, 1904.*)

[THE following article, by a young lady who is still at school, is inserted in all its fulness of picturesque detail partly on account of the admirable object lesson it affords in the collection of folklore. Boys and girls have a great advantage in this work in the ease with which they can vanquish the barriers of racial or class prejudice, which are after all the main difficulties to be overcome. Miss Wherry has given fictitious names to her informants, but the genuineness of her narratives must be self-evident to any one who knows the garrulous dramatic visionary folk of the Welsh Marches. Readers will not fail also to note the close correspondence of the relative positions of witch and wise man in Monmouthshire with those of the witch and witch-doctor in Central Africa, as described in the preceding paper.—ED.]

WHILE staying at a farmhouse in Monmouthshire this summer, I tried to collect some stories about the wise men, ghosts, and superstitions of the place. I was indebted to our landlady, Mrs. Briton, for many of them, but she referred me to an old Mrs. Pryce, who, she said, could tell me more stories than anyone.

I first made the acquaintance of Mrs. Pryce in the stable-yard wishing to sell a “fine oak table.” She was a weird-looking figure in her heavy cloak and cottage bonnet, but the most striking feature about her was the curious penetrating brightness of her eyes. Next day we all trooped down to see the table in her cottage at Trelleck. She was more witch-like than ever ; so much so that I looked around for the black cat, which, however, was not forthcoming ; she gave long histories of the usual six children whom she had buried, also of her quarrels with her landlord. She also wished to sell some chairs, for she said, “I’ve no need of chairs, being all alone, and I have the bench I used to kill pigs upon, ‘twill not be used for that agen, so I may so well sit on it so long as I do live.”

Two or three days afterwards she came up for the money for her table. Drawing me mysteriously out of the room she whispered on the stairs, “They’re after me for the rent.” She got her money and was then prevailed upon to “take a drop o’ cider.” I then

took the opportunity of asking her if she knew anything about Jenkyns, the wise man, in whom I was very much interested, having heard a great deal about him.

"Lor' bless you, me dear," said she, "Why, Jenkyns 'as been a comfort to me all me life. If I ever 'ad a pain of any sort, rheumatics, toothache, or what ye like, if I'd go to Jenkyns 'e'd always take it away. Anything that were lost, in all the country-side, 'e'd always find it. 'Deed I did miss old Jenkyns when 'e died, and many's the time I've wished 'im back agen."

I asked her what old Jenkyns' appearance was, and gathered that he was an oldish man, with a long dark beard ; stooping, and walking with a stick. "He allus wore one o' those box 'ats," said Mrs. Pryce, "an' an old round coat about the house, but when 'e went to town 'e put on a long coat with tails."

"But have you ever seen any of his charming, Mrs. Pryce ?"

"Lor' bless you, yes, me dear," said she ; "many an' many a time, but onst in particular I were dreadful skeered, an' I'll tell you all about it. One day one of me brothers had a toothache, so him an' me an' me other brother went up to old Jenkyns to have it charmed away. Jenkyns could charm away anything ; many a time, when I've had rheumatics or pain of any sort I'd go to Jenkyns an' say, 'Oh ! Jenkyns, I do feel so bad, take away my pain, do now ;' 'an' 'e'd say, 'Well now, d'ye believe ?' 'Oh, yes, I believe,' say I, an' there ! the pain 'ud be gone.

"Well, as I was sayin', when the toothache was gone, Jenkyns went out o' the kitchen to fetch a drop o' cider, an' me brother see'd a big, big book on the corner of the table, an' began to look at it. Jenkyns hollers out from the other side of the house, 'Don't you touch that book, or it'll be the worse for you !' When 'e came back me brother says, 'You must have got the Old Man 'imself about 'ere to have such like goings on,' says 'e. Just then there came a great noise in the room above, bowlin' about the floor, like as if a great big ball were rollin' about. 'All right,' says Jenkyns, 'if you don't look out, you'll have him a bit closer.'

"With that 'e takes a candle an' blows into it, puts it on the table, an' draws a circle round it. Then the light all burnt dim an' blue, and the whole room got cloudy an' misty. Presently, we see'd a little old man sittin' in a chair next to Jenkyns, 'e was rockin' 'imself to and fro, and squeakin', 'Jenky, Jenky, Jenky !'

an' again, 'Jenky, Jenky, Jenky!' Now 'e 'adn't come thro' the door, 'cos that was locked ; an' 'e 'adn't come thro' the window, 'cos that was shut an' barred ; an' yet there e' was, sittin' in the chair, calling 'Jenky, Jenky, Jenky!' an' 'Jenky, Jenky, Jenky!' Then Jenkyns blew into the candle agen, an' the dim blue light went away, an' the candle burned clear, an' lo an' behold ! that little grey old man was vanished.

"There!" says Jenkyns ; but me brothers didn't wait to hear any more ; they just took to their heels an' set off home as if the Old Man were after them, leavin' me to follow as best I could. But I believe to this day 'twas the Old Gentleman himself as we saw."

I asked her what had become of the big book, and what was in it, but she did not know, though she thought that the books were left to a nephew who had disappeared. She did not know the contents of them either, but said that "the Bible was a great book with him!" I had no time to ask any more questions, for Mrs. Pryce was launched on another story.

"One day there was a young man goin' to Monmouth races, an' as 'e was passin' 'is field, 'e see'd the cattle 'atin' of 'is crops. So 'e up an' took 'is jacket off an' throwed it over the gate, an' druv' 'em off ; but when 'e come back 'is jacket was gone. Now there was an 'ooman round there as 'e knowed 'ud take anything, but o' course 'e 'oodn't miss the Monmouth races, an' so 'e went without 'is jacket. But when 'e came back 'e told 'is wife, an' she told 'im to go off to old Jenkyns an' 'e'd get it back for 'im. Well, old Jenkyns 'e said, 'That 'ooman wont rest till she come an' put your coat back on the gate where she took'd it from. But what'll I do to punish 'er?'

"Oh!" said the young man, 'don't do anything to hurt her, so long as I gets me jacket back.'

"Well," says the old Jenkyns, "ow'ud it be if I was to put the button 'ole on her cheek, just 'ere, under 'er eye?"

"All right," says the young man.

"An', sure enough, that 'ooman come'd an' put back that jacket on the gate, where she tooked it from ; but ever arterwards she 'ad the mark of a black button-hole on 'er cheek, just beside 'er eye, so as everyone should know what sort of an 'ooman she was."

"But have you seen the mark, Mrs. Pryce?" I said.

"Why yes, me dear," said Mrs. Pryce, "t'was old So-and-so;" and with that she gave me her whole pedigree. "An' many a time have I seen that mark," said she. "Oh, Jenkyns always punished people when they stole things; there was those folk down to Pen-y-van, they had a bad time of it, I'll tell you about that. There was a farmer down by Pen-y-van, an' 'e 'ad a lot o' cider, but that all got stolen by four people. So 'e went to old Jenkyns to see what was to be done. But ole Jenkyns, 'Tisn't no good,' says he, 'the cider's drinked; I can't get it back for you, 'cos it's all drinked; but I'll tell you what I'll do,' says 'e; 'you come along to the green at six o'clock to-morrer evening, an' I'll make 'em dance,' an' sure enough he coom'd, an' there was these four people dancin' away on the green, men an' women. An' they couldn't help it, 'cos old Jenkyns 'ad put a spell on them, an' they danced for two hours for punishment, till 'e tooked the spell off. An' there was hundreds o' people watchin' 'em. Old Ann Griffiths, she told me all about it, how they was dancin' and jumpin' about, an' all the time ready to drop. Old Jenkyns, 'e was a watchin' quite pleased like for some time; then 'e got tired, tooked the spell off an' went home."

"An' it's not the first time 'e's punished people like that," said Mrs. Briton. "Don't you remember that 'ooman at the public down to Grosmont?" and she started on her story, Mrs. Pryce now and then putting in a nod of approval.

"One day old Jenkyns was going down town, an' 'e stopped at a public, 'The Cock and Feather,' to get some refreshment. 'E asked for bread an' cheese an' beer; when 'e'd finished 'e asked 'ow much it was. 'Oh,' says the landlady, 'let's see, six an' four's ten, that's tenpence, please.' Jenkyns said, 'twas too much, but 'e paid 'is tenpence an' went off.

"Presently the 'ooman came back into the room an' went up to the place where Jenkyns had been sitting, an' calls out,

" 'Six an' four's ten,
Here's off agen.'

"An' she started runnin' round the table, an' when she came back to Jenkyns' place she called out again,

" 'Six an' four's ten,
Here's off agen.'

"An' started runnin' round agen. Presently 'er daughter came in an' seed 'er mother runnin' round the table an' callin' out, so she knowed she'd got a spell on 'er. She went on like that for an hour and a half, then 'er son came back from work an' see'd 'is mother runnin' round the table, callin' out,

" 'Six an' four's ten,
Here's off agen.'

"So 'e said, 'Why, mother, what's t' matter?'

"An' she says, 'Oh, I don't know!'

" 'Six an' four's ten,
Here's off agen.'

"So 'e said to 'is sister, 'As so-an'-so been 'ere?' an' she said 'e 'ad, an' 'e said, 'Ow long's 'e been gone?' an' she said, 'Two hour.'

"So 'e went an' caught up old Jenkyns an' tells 'im what was wrong, an' Jenkyns says, 'Serve 'er right for chargin' a poor man tenpence for a bit o' bread an' cheese. But,' 'e says, 'you go an' look under a candlestick on your mantelpiece; there you'll see a bit of paper. Don't you look at it or it'll be the worse for you, but throw it in the fire. An' I hope this'll be a lesson to yer mother.'

"So the son went home, an' there was 'is mother, still runnin' round an' calling out,

" 'Six an' four's ten,
Here's off agen.'

"E ran to the chimney-piece, there was the paper! an' 'e throwed it in the fire; 'is mother dropped into a chair, all exhausted like. An' it served 'er right."

Mrs. Briton stopped, quite exhausted, for she had been acting the story herself all the time, rushing round the table and shouting,

" 'Six an' four's ten,
Here's off agen.'

Mrs. Pryce and I were simply screaming with laughter, and it was some time before Mrs. Pryce went on, with a rather disjointed story about a witch :

"One day some folk came to old Jenkyns about a witch ; they told 'im 'ow she used to turn herself into a hare an' stand on an old gate-post an' frighten folk terrible. Once there was some men goin' by an' they see'd 'er on the post, an' she called out 'Pee wow, pee wow !' and jumped down ; an' they all runned away. So old Jenkyns he says, 'You follow after her,' says 'e, 'an' stick a knife into 'er *third 'eel-mark*, then you'll be rid of her.' Now this old witch had put a spell on a woman in the village, so 'er husband an' 'er brother said they'd pay 'er out.

"They see'd the old lady goin' along the road one day, an' so in the third heel-mark from where she was they stuck a knife into the ground. She set up such a screechin' you could a' heard it for miles. 'Oo told you to do that?' says she, an' begins sayin' things most awful. Then she went off limpin' like, as if a knife was put right thro' 'er foot. So you see old Jenkyns 'e knew 'ow to settle witches, 'e did. 'Twas a pity he never see'd them on the Buckle. I'll tell you about them.

"One day there was a man going down the Buckle pitch, an' as 'e was goin' along, all of a sudden 'e 'eard sumthin' a comin' down behind 'im, an' 'e looked an' there 'e saw an old 'ooman a comin' gallopin' down the pitch on a piece of an old hurdle. She come right past 'im, an' 'e tried to catch hold of the hurdle ; but no, 'e couldn't touch it, nohow. Then there came along another old hag, leppin' an' gallopin' on a ladder, an' behind her came another, as I'm alive, trundlin' on a common grindstone ! They came right past 'im, an' on to a public beyond the pitch, an' there they stopped, an' them that wasn't too frightened tried to shoot 'em, but no, nothing couldn't touch 'em, nobody could catch hold of that hurdle, nor the ladder, nor the grindstone neither ; an' presently they called, 'Pee wow, Pee wow !' an' was off again, so as nobody couldn't stop 'em."

"Well, now I'd like to have seen that," said Mrs. Briton. "I expect *you*'ll be practising on one o' them old grindstones, won't you, to see if you can get along same as the witches ?"

"Talkin' of witches," said Mrs. Pryce, "there was a wise woman way over the mountains some time ago, as I heard tell of. She could find anything that were lost. One day there was a man that had a very fine watch, an' 'e put it on the table one day while 'e went to clean 'issel, an' when 'e come back 'twas gone. So 'is mother went off 'way over the mountains to this old 'ooman. Jes' as she

came up to the door a little dog run out barking. Then there came out a little, little old 'ooman. 'Don't you be afraid o' the dog,' says she; 'I know what you's come about. 'Twas your own niece as took the watch. You go back 'ome an' look under the stone next the pump in your scullery, an' there you'll find it,' says she. 'An' will you have 'er that took it punished?' said she. But the 'ooman thanked her, and said so long as she got the watch back, she didn't care to punish any one, much less her own niece. So she went back, an' there sure 'nough she found the watch under a stone in the scullery. Now, weren't that strange, as the old 'ooman who'd never seen the place should know where the thing was?"

This was the last story Mrs. Pryce told me. Mrs. Briton, however, remembered some more about Jenkyns, and one day, when I was mangling for her, she told me the following:

"One day old Jenkyns was comin' up from Monmouth, and just on the pitch by the station was four horses strugglin' an' strainin' to drag a great piece of timber up the hill. They were pullin' an' men were pushin', an' then they'd be pulled back by the weight of it. Jenkyns, he looked at them for some time, then he up an' shouts, 'Unhitch that fore horse!' So they unhitched him, 'cos nobody dared disobey anything that Jenkyns told them to do. 'Now hitch 'im on behind,' e said; an' so they hitched 'im on behind. Then Jenkyns tooked the whip, cracked it, an' shouted, 'Now, me lads, all together!' An' would you believe it, them 'orses that couldn't move a step before, galloped up the hill like a top spinnin', an' the leader dancin' behind!"

Another day I cornered Mrs. Briton in the dairy, and bargained for a story. "Well," she said, "I'll tell you what I know 'bout old Sarah Griffiths. They used to say she was a witch, an' this was told me by old Jacob Jones 'issel, an' e ought to know. So if it's a lie, it's is own lie."

"It 'appened when Mr. Mason was livin' at the Argoed. 'Is gardener was very partic'ler 'bout havin' turf from the 'ill, an' they 'ad ter bring it across the river in boats, an' old Tom Griffiths an' Jacob Jones, they was 'elpin'. Well, on the last day, when they'd got it all up, Mr. Mason's gardener, 'e left some money down at the Boat Inn, so as they should 'ave some beer, 'cause 'e was pleased they'd brought the turf up so quick. So Tom, when 'e went up to tea, 'e says to Sarah, 'e was goin' down for an hour,

'cos they was goin' to 'ave some singin' down at the 'Boat'; but Sarah, she said, 'Thee shassent go down theer; thee'st better stay at 'ome 'an 'ave thee's supper.'

"Well, Tom, 'e would'n't stay, so she said, 'If thee goes down theer, thee bis'n't comin' 'ome to-night.' An' she began to curse an' swear, an' say she wished the devil 'ud run off with 'im if 'e went down, but still 'e went.

"Well, 'e was a comin' up again, about ten, with old Jacob Jones, an' Jacob was a little way in front; 'e was a tellin' me about it arterwards. 'E said, 'It's as true as my hand's there,' 'e said, 'I felt myself goin' up, up, an' it took me breath away, it was so swift, an' I went up right over the hedge.' It were one of those 'igh 'edges all over dog-briars an' blackberry branches. An' 'e went right over, sheer down into the meadow the other side. Presently 'e 'eard some 'un swearin' close by, an' 'e said, 'Tom, is that thee? What t' devil art doin' theer?' An' Tom said, 'Jacob is that thee? What t' devil art doin' heer?'

"An' then they tried to get out, but they couldn't, an' they was all scrat about, an' bruised, an' cut, an' try as they might they couldn't get out, they was so buried in briars an' brambles. They lay there swearin' an' talkin' to one another till half-past five in the mornin', when they 'eard Dan an' Tom, their two boys, comin' up home from the tinworks. Then Jacob 'e called out 'Lor' bless thee, Dan, is that thee? Coom an' get us out o' this!'

"An' them two boys 'ad the greatest difficulty in gettin' 'em out, they was so stuck in them briars an' things. But at last they got out, an' when they got 'ome, there was old Sally boilin' the kettle, an' she said, 'I telled thee, Tom, thee oosn't come 'ome, an' thee didn't.'

"There's another story I've just remembered about a witch," said Mrs. Briton; "I'll just tell you about it."

"There was an old witch used to live 'bout here, an' she had a daughter. Now there was a young man very fond of this girl, and wanting to marry her, but her mother hated him, and would have liked to have put him out of the way if she could.

"One day he came up to see his sweetheart, and there was her mother a brewin' somethin' in a saucepan on the fire. She says, 'Tom, do 'ee take t' kettle an' bring me some water from the well.' But the girl called out, 'Don't 'ee go, Tom. Oh! don't 'ee go.' 'You be quiet, ye interfering hussy,' says the old 'ooman. 'Here, Tom, take t' kettle.'

"So Tom took the kettle an' went off to the well, an' dipped it in ; but 'e felt somethin' a pullin' an' pushin' him till it got 'is 'ead right under water as 'twere tryin' to drown him. O' course 'e struggled and kicked till 'e got 'is 'ead up again, an' then 'e looked round to see who 'twere, but there—there war'nt no one.

"E couldn't see no one, but in two minutes somethin' had 'im again and got 'im under the water, an' all this time 'e couldn't get the kettle filled anyway. Three times 'e were took an' dipped in the well, an' it were a wonder 'e weren't drowned, for 'twas all 'e could do to keep 'is 'ead up. At last 'e got the kettle filled an' went back to the cottage.

"There was the old 'ooman still brewin' in the saucepan an' mutterin' to herself ; but when she saw 'im that she thought was drowned come to the door with the kettle full she stopped all of a sudden an' looked at 'im that awful, an' a sort of a horrid laugh came out of the saucepan, an' the lid jumped off an' flew right up the chimney so as all the kitchen was filled with smoke an' the most awful smell. Then 'e knowed she 'ad been brewin' spells to kill 'im, so 'e dropped the kettle an' took to 'is 'eels, an' all up the road 'e could 'ear 'er cursin' 'im, an' I take it 'e was glad to get 'ome. But 'e never went after that girl agen."

Mrs. Briton is one of the few people from whom you can get ghost stories first hand ; they are rather vague, but she believes in them implicitly.

"One day," she said, "our cattle got lost an' our two boys went out to look for them. They was out for hours an' hours, an' towards evening Bill Roberts brought the cattle home, but 'e 'adn't seen them boys. So I began to get anxious like, an' I went out all over the place huntin' an' callin' for them. At last it got quite dark, an' I was in an awful state o' mind : I put a lamp in the window to guide them if they was to come back, an' went out with my father to look for them again. We was just goin' past the house of a wicked, wicked old man what had just died (they told all kinds of stories about him, some said as 'e had killed 'is own wife) ; as I was sayin' we was passin' this house, an' I saw just beside me a big, big, black dog, as large as a calf, an' 'is eyes shone like lumps of fire. My father hit at it with 'is stick, an', would you believe me, the stick went right through it, an' 'twas still there !

"Bye-an'-bye, when we'd passed the house, the dog disappeared.

"That's a sure token,' says my father, 'that them boys is in the river !'

" Well, you may believe that made me feel bad, but when we got 'ome the lamp was gone out of the window, an' I rushed upstairs, there was the boys fast asleep. Next mornin' they told me how they'd got so tired an' gone to sleep in the road, an' woken up when it was dark an' come on home. But that day a telegram come to say as my brother 'ad been killed by a railway truck. So, you see, it *was* an omen, seeing that there dog."

There is a funny old house on the way to Penallt called the "Potash"; it is said to be haunted, but Mrs. Briton is the only person I have met who has seen anything there. This is her account :

" One night about twelve o'clock I was goin' along the road down to Mitchel Troy, where we used to live; I was just nearin' the 'Potash' when I heard like a lot of people talkin' in the air. First I thought 'twas the gypsies, but as I was comin' by the hedge in the field I saw a sort of a black cloud comin' thro' the gap, an' I heard a sound of clankin' chains, but all at once I knowed it wasn't gypsies 'cos they weren't there, an' I heard voices all around. I ran, an' ran, I was so frightened, till at last I fell right into a sand pit at the bottom of the hill."

Some other members of Mrs. Briton's family have seen visions too. Her son, Samuel, told me that one night, goin' up through Troy Woods, he had seen a great black beast with flaming eyes, and when he turned his lantern on it, it vanished with a sort of screech into a ditch.

Mr. Briton is said by his wife to have seen a black dog going nine times round a tree; I don't know if that is true, but after much cross-questioning, and with additions from Mrs. Briton, I made out that he really had seen something one night, when going to see his wife, who was nursing a sick woman in a farm some way off. By the side of the road he saw a lady, dressed in a very old-fashioned way, holding her skirt up; her hair, of a sandy colour, was divided and arranged in two knots on the top of her head. Though it was a pitch-dark night he saw her plainly, and said "Good night;" but she passed him without speaking, and vanished up the road. Mr. Briton rushed into the farm where his wife was, and told her he had seen the devil.

" Had 'e got a tail?" said she, laughing.

" No, but 'a had horns," he said; for he thought she had, from the way her hair was arranged.

" You should have followed her, and she'd have shown you a treasure if you'd asked her in God's name what she wanted," said Mrs. Briton sagely ; and he wished he had.

" But, why did you think she was the devil?" I asked him.
" Oh, I s'pose 'twas just a wicked thought of mine," he said.

I gathered some stories from Mrs. Briton about a mythical person, supposed to have come from Kentchurch near by, who went by the name of Jack Kent. He is associated with the Druidical stones at Trelleck, and the cleft on the Skyrnid.

" They say that when Jacky was a little boy he made a compact with the devil, which enabled him to do anything he set his hand to.

" Once he was engaged by a farmer to scare crows ; but there was a fair going on in the town, and Jack didn't mean to miss it, so he called all the crows together from all the fields round, and when they were all collected he sent them into an old barn, with no roof to it. But Jack put the crows in there and said something to them, and they couldn't get out, try as they might. So Jack, he went to the fair, but when he had been enjoying himself there a bit, he met his master. (Now his master had specially told him he was not to go to the fair, or else the crows would be after the crops.) So the farmer said, ' Hullo, Jack, what art doin' here? Didn't I tell thee to look after th' crows?' But Jack says, ' T' crows be all right, master.' And he took the farmer to the old barn, and sure enough there was the crows, and they couldn't get out, altho' that barn had no roof, until Jack told them to.¹

" Jack bested the devil in everything. One day they were walking through a turnip-field, and Jack made a bet that he could get more profit out of the field, if they shared it, than the devil could. (The turnips weren't above ground then, but Jack knew they were there.) Jack asked the Old Boy if he'd have Tops or Bottoms. He said ' Tops,' so Jack got the turnips and the Old Boy the greens.

" Next year the Devil took the bet again, an' this time he made sure he'd win, so he said he'd have Bottoms ; but Jack, he had took precautions, an' that field came up wheat, so he got the corn

¹ [Cf. *Folklore Journal*, i., 370 (where Kent is misprinted Rent); also vol. ii., p. 10, and F. Hindes Groome's *In Gipsy Tents* (Nimmo), p. 11, whose version of the story has been heard in Shropshire also.—ED.]

an' straw, an' the Devil got the roots, which of course wasn't much good.

"Then they went to threshing. Jack was to have Bottoms this time, so he got the barn floor, and the Devil went on top ; so he put up a hurdle for the Devil to thresh on, and as he battered away Jack had all the corn on the floor.

"Then they made a bargain that Jack was to build a bridge over Trothy Weir, Grosmont, before the cock crowed in the morning, but Jack did not before the cock crowed, and there the stones lie to this day, many a ton.

Jack did some wonderful things in his time. Why ! one day he jumped off the Sugar Loaf Mountain on to the Skyrnid (and there's his heel-mark in the Skyrnid to this day). An' when he got there he began playing quoits, he pecked (threw) three stones as far as Trelleck, great, big ones, as tall as three men (and there they still stand in a field), and he threw another, but that didn't go quite far enough, and it lay on the Trelleck Road, just behind the five trees, till a little while ago, when it was moved so as the field might be ploughed ; and this stone, in memory of Jack, was always called the Pecked Stone.

"The Devil swore he'd have Jack's soul whether he were buried inside or outside the church ; but when Jack died he was buried just under the wall of Grosmont Church, with his head inside and his legs outside, and a great stone (which has since been moved) was put to mark the place. So the Devil never got him."

In Monmouthshire there is a curious custom called "New Year's Gifts." On New Year's Eve the village children bring round apples, with three sticks for legs, and surmounted by a sprig of box adorned with hazel-nuts, fastened on by slitting the nut at the top and inserting a leaf of the sprig. I have heard, too, that in the spring, when the crops are just beginning to sprout, the men go into the field, taking cider with them, light a fire, and "say something" over the corn. On Good Friday it is right to bake a small loaf, which is to be kept till the same date next year ; it will not go bad. Some of this loaf ground up is a certain cure for various illnesses.

Mrs. Briton says that if you kill an adder, and before sundown hold it over a flame of fire, its four legs will come out. She has seen it !

BEATRIX ALBINIA WHERRY.

FOLKLORE OF THE NEGROES OF JAMAICA.

[THE following papers were written in 1896 by coloured students at Mico College, Jamaica, preparing to become elementary teachers. They were communicated to Professor York Powell by Mr. Frank Cundall, Secretary and Librarian of the Institute of Jamaica. It is thought better to suppress the writers' names, merely distinguishing them by the letters A, B, C, &c. The flourishes about the blessings of education and civilisation with which most of them begin or end have also been omitted, with the exception of a specimen or two. Otherwise the papers are given exactly as they were written. They are in good "commercial" handwritings, with very few errors of spelling. Besides the intrinsic interest of the subject-matter of their contents, its bearing on the question of the transmission of folklore renders them specially worthy of attention. These negroes have preserved the beliefs of their West African ancestors as to spirits and shadows, while they have at the same time adopted many of the most familiar of trivial English superstitions, and have utilised their acquaintance with Christianity for magical purposes.—ED.]

A.—SIGNS, OMENS, MYTHS, AND SUPERSTITIONS OF JAMAICA.

There are lingering in Jamaica many false beliefs which are to be eradicated. It is very strange, indeed, that in such an enlightened land as Jamaica there are such beliefs, but we can safely say that they are dying out little by little. Some of the evils believed in in these days are unpractised such as you shall see indicated later on by this (×).

It is the great work of education and religion that has diminished some of these evils, and within a few years of labour of these two principles all the false beliefs will die out. Education and religion will be the chief agents to eradicate them.

The following are some of the beliefs formerly and presently believed in :

Dead.

Instead of the natural death, which is allotted to men, most people when die [*sic*] are believed to be killed by some one, not personal murder, but by *obeah* and the *duppy*.

× When a man kills another, and he does not want the *duppy* to

ride him, he makes friendship with the possessor of the deceased, in order to secure on the day of burial the first coffin shaving, and the first portion of the sod turned up by the gravedigger.

× If a man murders another he either drinks or burns the blood to hinder the puppy from riding him.

× To plant down the puppy they will cut a tree and invert it in the grave.

× If they believed that the person is killed by some one they will dress him black for burial, put boots upon his feet, arm him with a knife and a horsewhip, a spur upon one of his boots to ride and kill the killer when he rises from the dead.

They believe that a man rises three days after death, when he will go about and take the shadow of all the things he possessed during life.

If a person dies where there are little children, after the body is put into the coffin, they will lift up each little child, and calling him by name, pass him over the dead body. In the case of an adult he will put his hand upon the chest and say a few words. The common belief in this is, that the puppy will not hurt them.

When the coffin with the body is taken out, someone with a broom sweeps the house, casting all the refuse after it, saying he is sweeping out the dead.

When the body is taken out of the house it is generally placed on two chairs while some devotional exercises are being performed. On lifting the coffin, the people have a belief to lift it two or three times before removing it altogether.

One common belief is, that a body can run while on the way to be buried, and it can give weight, especially when the person who killed it carries the coffin. At this stage the coffin is believed to be dropping to the ground, when some one will rush up and say, "Come! don't mind! come, let us go." The reason for the weight was nothing but the want of the proper balance of the coffin.

Another stupid belief is to throw the water that washed dead body [*sic*] upon the grave.

If a man dies and leaves his yam-heads, as he rots they will rot also.

When a person dies on a bed, the head of the bed is generally turned, and in some cases the doorway.

It is also said that any one who has a wound, regardless how

slight it may be, is not to stand on the grave dirt. It is believed that as the body rots, the person's flesh will rot also.

It is also a belief that any one with a wound in any part of his body is not to go in a room to see the dead. He will suffer the above penalty. To prevent the rot of the flesh it is said that the person possessing the wound must mark *blue* round its edges.

It is said that one person cannot wash a dead body; two must do it, and both must finish together.

If the back of the dead be touched with water, the dead person will jump and open his eyes, and when turned into the puppy, will go to the washer who made the mistake, and exclaim, "Me cold!"

If by chance you meet a dead body on the way to be buried you must turn aside, or break some bush and cast behind you, to prevent the puppy from following you.

If a dead body is being carried to be buried, and you should look under your crutches upon the coffin, you will see the puppy upon the top, and it will break your neck.

In sewing the dead clothes, if you cut the thread with your teeth, they will rot as the body rots. The end of the thread must not be knotted, or else the dead will come back to the house after the so-called resurrection. &c., &c.

Signs of Death.

When a number of cows surround a bull, and all begin to give a sad lowing, while the bull is ploughing the earth with his horns and hoofs, some one is going to die.

If rain falls suddenly, say for about a minute, some soul has parted from the world.

If a sucker leaf that is green breaks down without any one touching it, a good person has died.

If a partridge flies into your yard, some one will soon die, likely out of the family.

If rats eat any part of your body or your clothes, some dear one to you has died.

If an owl cries in the night near your house it means death, so also if it flies in the day.

If a hog roots your yard, some one of your relatives is going to die.

If a dog howls mournfully in the night it is a sign of death.
 If a wine-glass break of itself on a table, it is also a sign of death, &c., &c.

The Duppy.

After a person has been dead for three days it is believed that a cloud of smoke will rise out [of] the grave, which becomes the *duppy*.

This *duppy* is a curious being, capable of assuming various forms of men and other animals. This supernatural power which it is believed to have, enables it to turn into a shadow and vanish away. It is said that the *duppy* can attack and ruin both man and beast. For this characteristic it is utilised by *obeah-men*.

The *duppy* can do many things similar to a living person. It talks, laughs, whistles, sings, smokes, cooks, nurses the young, goes to market, to church, drives in a carriage with a reversed position to that of the living. It rides a horse with its head turned backwards, using the tail for a bridle. The *duppy* in human form generally moves along by spinning or walking backwards.

These are different kinds of *duppies*—"three-foot horse," "rolling calf," "long-bubby Susan," "whooping boy" (the rider of the "three-foot horse"), and the "mermaid," a kind of *duppy* that lives in the water.

If the *duppy* come at you and you call the name "God" it will not go away, but no sooner "Jesus Christ" is called than it vanishes.

You can run the *duppy* by turning your dress wrong-side, carrying a book, a rule, gunpowder, sulphur, frankincense, myrrh, a blade or smoke a weed called "Rosemary" in your pipe [*sic*].

In the case when the *duppy* is coming to your house and you want to keep it away you have to nail a horseshoe on the door, mark ten (X) with chalk (if it be the "long-bubby Susan"), put an open glass in the front of the doorway, &c. If the *duppy* is troublesome burn a mixture of cow's hoof and horn, sulphur, blue-stone, duck-ant ness [*sic*], &c.

It is said that a *duppy* can stone, can poison, beat, burn, can drown any one, set a house on fire, &c. The *obeah-men* use them largely for these characteristics.

"Three-foot Horse."—The "three-foot horse" is believed to be a kind of puppy with three legs, hence its name; and is able to gallop faster than any other horse. It goes about in moonlight nights, and if it meet any person it blows upon him and kills him. It will never attack you in the dark. It cannot hurt you on a tree.

The "whooping boy" is said to be the rider of the "three-foot horse," and is able to whoop as a person. It is very dangerous in thick woods, where they may seen dancing on twigs.

The "long-bubby Susan" is a kind of puppy believed to have breasts reaching close to the ground. In the case of an attack, it throws the breasts over over its shoulders. The mark ten (X) will keep the "long-bubby Susan" from a house.

Rolling Calf.

When a man dies, and is too wicked for heaven or hell, he turns into this kind of puppy, "the rolling calf," and goes about with a chain round his neck, which Satan gives him to warn people.

The "rolling calf" is afraid of the moon, and in moon-light nights, it may be seen with its eyes fixed on the moon saying, "Do me goode mun no go fal dun pa me, no go wak unda me, a de holy night. If you fal dun pa me a me nancy me kin."

Many other stories are spoken of about the "rolling calf," and the following seems to be very nice. Once a man was travelling in a moon-light night, and coming to a bridge saw a "rolling calf" sitting on it saying its usual melody, with its eye fixed upon the moon. The man was at first afraid to pass, but after musing over the matter awhile went boldly up and touched the "calf." The "rolling calf" in fear that the moon had stumbled on it fell on the other side into the stream, when it was heard saying, "A don't mind the wet, a wet, but the pain a pain me foot."

I get a Letter from God.

This *true* story is about a man who is a puppy-catcher and a doctor who works by a spirit. He is capable of giving medicines to cure all manner of diseases, and deceives his patients in saying that he knows various things of them before they come to him. Sometimes he tells them that he sees someone going to the French woman in Kingston to do them harm.

He is unable to read or write, but he is always to be seen with a memorandum and a piece of black lead marking some strokes, saying he is writing a letter from God.

In order to see the so-called duppy on the patients when they are approaching, he ties long pieces of white calico all about his yard to let the duppy appear upon them as the image of a magic lantern upon the screen. He is always heard saying, "Wet up the calico, Lord."

He works with a spirit calls "Cudjoe," saying, "Reap! stretch and set my 'Cudjoe' dia." He drills the people to perform all sorts of motion saying, "Stamp me the letter." If they fail to stamp the letter to his taste he gives them a stroke saying, "Stamp me the letter ! Massa God say gi you a lick."

He believes that there is obeah in many people, especially in women. To eradicate this obeah, he performs what he calls the "balm" when he beats the patient with wet calico and rams the abdomen with clenched fists.

He is a great hypocrite, pretends to love prayer, but during that time, if he hears the least noise, he jumps out and swears, speaking all bad words, and if possible punishes the offenders.

Kill the Thief.

Boil few neighbours [*sic*] pot water with your own putting in a silver threepence. As the boiler begins to boil the person will begin to swell.

If the ground is wet, and the foot prints be left on the sod, dig up the foot-printed sod, and suspend it over the fire.

Take some of the refuse of the stolen things and cast into the sea ; as the sea is rolling, so the person's intestines will roll.

Plant the "guinea Yam" with a short stick to support the sprout, and a silver threepence in the sod, and in the case of larceny, flog off the leaves. Take care that in flogging off the leaves none drop on you, or else you will share the same fate.

Plant "pain-cocoa" or "dum-cane" with a silver threepence and in the case of larceny beat off the leaves.

If you suspect a person to be the thief, try the broom-weed gallows.

Burn a plant called "Wangra" and the person's skin will strip off.

Find out the Thief.

The book and key, when a key is tied in a Bible and held by a finger of two persons, and the words "By St. Peter, by St. Paul" being called.

The gold ring, a hair, and a tumbler of water. In the case the gold ring is suspended over the water by the hair, and the same words as above being called.

A curious kind of smoke, which, when rises, goes to the house of the thief, &c.

Love.

If you give your lover a pocket handkerchief the love will fade.

A knife, a pair of scissors, a pin or a needle, given by one to his lover destroy love.

If a young lady sews for the young gentleman by whom she is loved, the love will decline.

Marriage.

If persons marry on a day when there is plenty of rain they will live an unhappy life; *vice versa* will be the result if the day be dry.

During the celebration of a marriage feast, if a vessel is broken or some liquor be spilt on the table, it is a sign of happy marriage life.

If the bridegroom forgets the ring on going to church, the marriage life will be unhappy.

If you turn down your hat upon a bed or upon a table, you never will marry.

Miscellaneous.

When two fowls speak strangers will soon be coming. If two hens, two women. A cock and a hen, a man and a woman.

If you see blinky [?] lighting in your house a stranger will come.

If ants come plentifully in your house it is a sign that some one will be departing.

When your right eye dance you will laugh soon, if the left dance, you will cry soon.

If your right hand scratch you, you will get money shortly, if the left, you will spend.

If your ears burn, someone is calling your name for good.

If your nostrils burn you, so that you sneeze, some one is backbiting you.

When going on a business, if you butt your right foot, it means good luck, the left means bad luck.

If a baker after setting up his leaven, go to a place where a dead person is, the leaven will not rise.

To hinder people from chanting [? *sic*] your money, put a gravel or a grain of corn in it, or squeeze some lime juice upon them.

When plenty of roaches [cockroaches?] are flying in a house, it is a sign of rain. There are some flies also, that indicate rain by their flying.

When you want to beat a puppy, first give it a stroke with the left hand, then afterwards you can use the right. If you use the right first, the puppy will paralyze [*sic*] it.

If a hog plays with thrash in the mouth, it is a sign of rain.

If a cock after a shower of rain flies up on any raised place and crows, it is a sign that the weather will slack.

If you hear thunder rolls in dry weather rain will soon be coming.

To shoot the puppy, load the gun with salt, blue-stone and sulphur, in addition to the powder and shot. When the puppy is shot down, you will find it in the form of an animal, generally a chucking lizard.

If you sew dirty clothes, it dim your eyes.

If you plant the seed of a plant called "mamy" you will die.

If you plant a pumpkin vine your relatives will die.

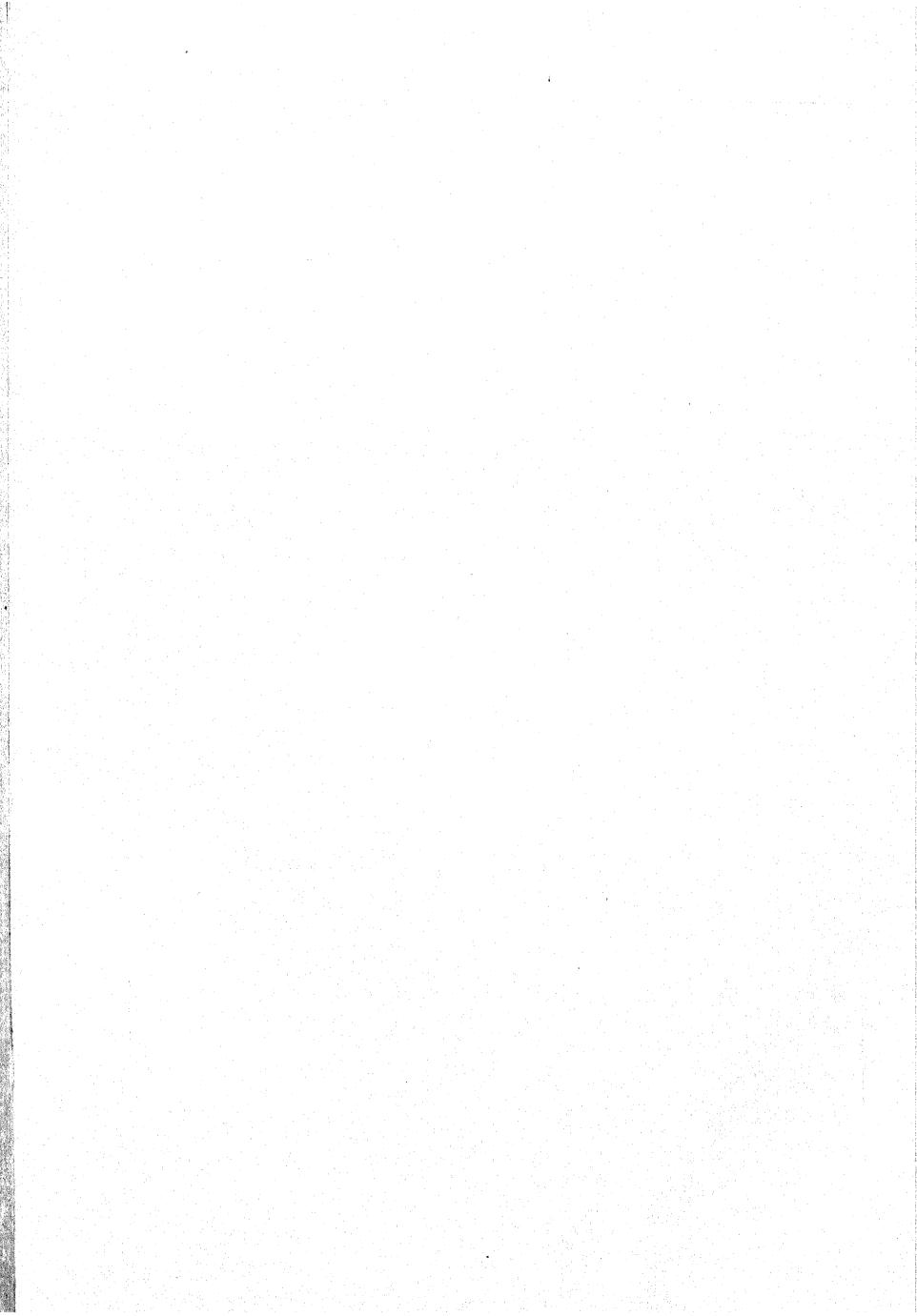
If you are eating, and a piece of the food just drop suddenly from your hand, it is some of your dead relatives who knocked it out for themselves.

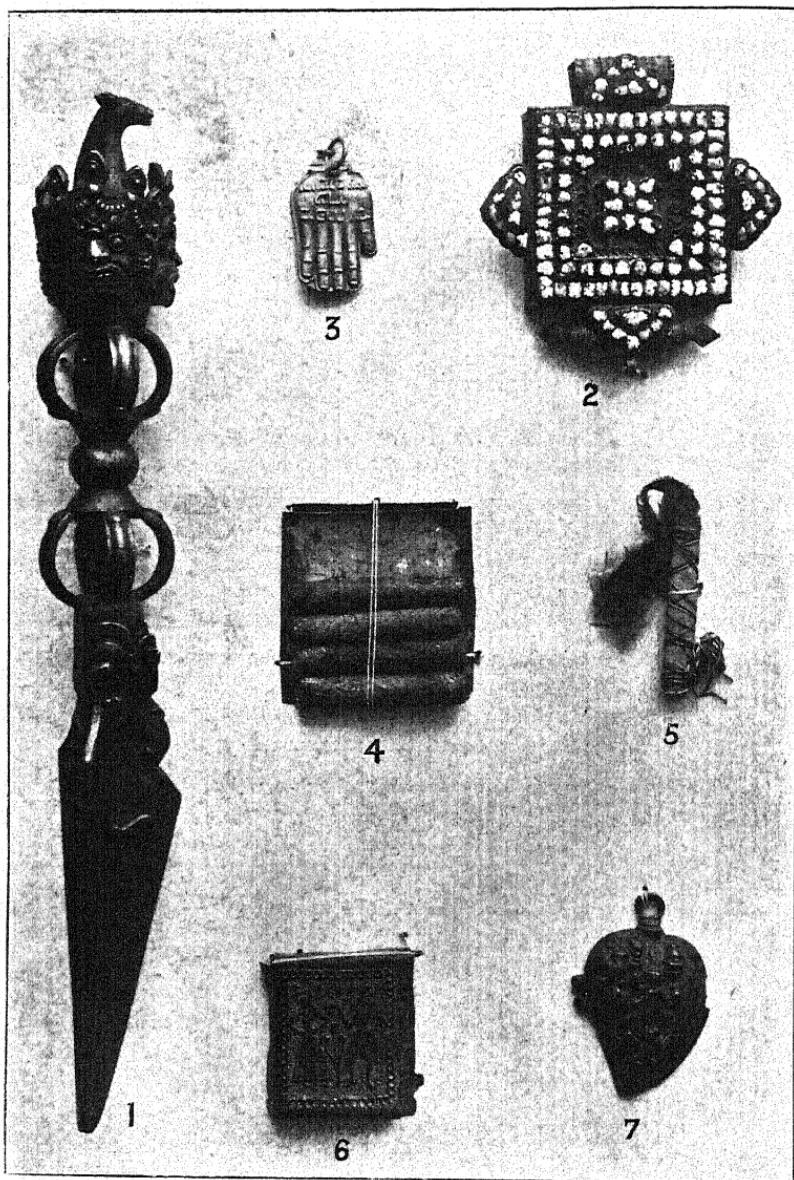
There are many more superstitions, &c., but many are not believed in, except by a few dark people. The prevalent belief in these days is about the obeah-men and the puppy.

A.

(Assisted by A—B—, teacher, — — School, and by his mother.)

(To be continued.)





TIBETAN AND OTHER CHARMS.

TIBETAN CHARMS.

*Exhibited at Meeting, 18th November, 1903. (See Plate II.
and p. 1.)*

1. TIBETAN *phur-bu*, or exorcist's dagger, for stabbing demons. The central part represents a thunderbolt, and the upper end the four heads (one being a horse's) of the fiend Tamdin.
2. Tibetan *ga-u*, or charm-box, studded with turquoisees and holding four rolls of charms (4) and a fifth roll (5) bound with silk of three colours and having attached to it some fragments from the robe of a lama or of a sacred image.
3. Metal hand: Hebrew charm against the evil eye, inscribed with the blessing of Joseph (Genesis xlix. 22-26).
- 6 and 7. Mediæval bronze amulet cases, one book-shaped, the other heart-shaped.

A. R. WRIGHT.

SOME SUPERSTITIONS OF THE FIFESHIRE FISHER-FOLK.

IN Miss Morag Cameron's very interesting notes on "Highland Fisher-Folk and their Superstitions" in September issue of *Folk-Lore* (vol. xiv., p. 300), mention is made of the fact that most of the superstitions noted were also current on the Fifeshire coast. It struck me that it might be interesting to try to trace how far this is still the case, as one might reasonably expect that the "Fifers," being nearer the larger centres of town life, would lose their old beliefs more readily than their northern brethren.

Mining and fishing go largely together on some parts of our county's coast line, the miner taking the fishing season as a beneficial change from his work below ground, while the fisher does not now despise the "good money" that may be gained in the pit at such time as the harvest of the sea is not available. Hence, as well as the purely fishing and purely mining classes, we have also a mining-fishing class largely imbued with the curious beliefs of both. And yet the miner regards the fisher

rather contemptuously as being “maist awfu’ supersteetious” and is a keen critic of him and his ways.

My principal informant, with whom I have gone over Miss Cameron’s paper in detail, is an intelligent elderly man who has alternately worked in the pit and the boat for over thirty years. His acquaintance with the subject is thus pretty thorough, and many of the customs and beliefs have been impressed on him through his being “checkit” for breaches of them. I found that the great majority of “fraits” mentioned by Miss Cameron are still common to “the Kingdom.” Some small additions and differences I will mention here.

“Buying wind,” if it ever existed in Fife to the same extent as in the Highlands, has now degenerated into cultivating the goodwill of certain old men by presents of drinks of whisky. The skipper of the boat “stands his hand” (*i.e.*, stands treat) freely to those worthies before sailing. “Of coarse it’s a’ a heap o’ blethers,” said my informant, “but a’ the same I’ve kent us get some extra gude shots when the richt folk was mindit.”

If one of the crew while at sea carelessly throws off his oilskins so that they lie inside out, an immediate rush is made to turn the exposed side in again. Should this not be done it is apt to induce dirty weather.

At sea it is unlucky, as stated by Miss Cameron, to mention *minister, salmon, hare, rabbit, rat, pig, and porpoise*. It is also extremely unlucky to mention the names of certain old women, and some clumsy round-about nomenclature results, such as “Her that lives up the stair opposite the pump,” &c.

But on the Fifeshire coast the pig is *par excellence* the unlucky being. “Soo’s tail to ye!” is the common taunt of the (non-fishing) small boy on the pier to the outgoing fisher in his boat. (Compare the mocking “Soo’s tail to Geordie!” of the Jacobite political song.) At the present day a pig’s tail actually flung into the boat rouses the occupant to genuine wrath. One informant told me that some years ago he flung a pig’s tail aboard a boat passing outwards at Buckhaven, and that the crew turned and came back. Another stated that he and some other boys united to cry out in chorus, “There’s a soo in the bow o’ your boat!” to a man who was hand-line-fishing some distance from shore. On hearing the repeated cry he hauled up anchor and came into harbour. There is also a Fife belief (although it is chiefly spoken of now in

a jesting manner) that after killing a certain number of pigs (some put the number at ten) a man runs the risk of seeing the devil. The hole in the pig's feet is shown through which the devils entered the Gadarene swine. In the popular mind there is always a certain uncanniness about swine, which is emphasised by the belief that a pig sees the wind. It is further said that a pig cannot swim without cutting his throat, and so must inevitably die in the attempt to escape drowning.

It is strange that although it is unlucky to mention the word *hare* while afloat, the leg of a hare should sometimes, as Miss Cameron states on p. 302, be carried in a boat for luck. The fisherwomen of the Forfarshire village of Auchmithie (the "Mussel Crag" of Scott's *Antiquary*) used to be irritated by school children shouting out, "Hare's fit in your creel"; also by counting them with extended forefinger and repeating the verse:—

"Ane ! Twa ! Three !
Ane ! Twa ! Three !
Sic a lot o' fisher-wifies
I do see !" ¹

The unluckiness of counting extends to counting the fish caught or the number of the fleet.

While at the herring-fishing each of the crew is allowed in turn the honour of throwing the first bladder overboard when the nets are cast at night. Before doing this he must twirl the bladder thrice round his head and say how many "crans" the night's fishing will produce. Should the catch fall below his estimate, he is not again allowed, on that trip, to throw the first bladder; but if successful he throws again the next night.

The Fifeshire fisher does not scruple to eat mackerel, but states that the Highlandman will not do this, owing to his belief that the fish turns into "mauchs" (maggots) in the alimentary canal. Miss Cameron can perhaps tell us if this still holds good up North. Is the idea secondary to the belief that the mackerel prefers to feed on the bodies of the drowned?

The body of a drowned man is supposed to lie at the bottom for six weeks until the gall-bladder bursts. It then comes to the surface. A man's body floats face downwards: a woman's, face upwards.

¹ Cf. Gregor, *Folklore of the North-East of Scotland*, p. 200, where another version of the rhyme is given.

In the coast towns and villages of Fife a curious custom prevails with regard to the treatment of any carcase, say of a dog, cat, or sheep, that may be cast up on the beach. School-children coming across anything of the kind make a point of spitting on it and saying, "That's no my granny," or "That's no freend (*i.e.*, relation) of mine." Others simply spit on the carcase, giving as a reason that it is done to prevent it "smitting" (*i.e.*, infecting) them. (Almost every one on perceiving a bad smell, spits.) But the probability is that the custom dates from the days when exposed human corpses were not of uncommon occurrence, and the underlying motive evidently is to free the spitter (for luck) from the onus of being responsible for the unburied body and to appease the spirit of the departed.

DAVID RORIE, M.B.

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ROYAL SUCCESSION IN YORUBA-LAND.

(Communicated by Mr. T. A. Cook through Mr. J. G. Frazer.)

THE present Acting Attorney-General here, Mr. Ross, late resident of Ibadan, the biggest place in our hinterland, tells me that the late Bashorun or King of Ibadan died while he was up there. The Bashorun's subjects having grown tired of his age and inefficiency, he was poisoned, though this was never officially proved. His head was sent to his nominal overlord, the Alafin of Oyo (Awŷā), the King-Paramount of Yoruba-land. This was merely evidence of death. His heart was eaten by his successor, who, by the way, like King Peter of Servia, is not supposed to have been privy to his cutting-off. This custom has obtained in Yoruba-land since memory goeth not to the contrary. The Yoruba word meaning *to reign* is Je-oba: Je-oba—je = to eat; oba = the king.

HAROLD G. PARSONS.

Lagos, 28th Sept., 1903.

PERSONIFICATION OF A RIVER.

(*Extract from a Private Letter to the Editor.*)

30th January, 1904.

"THERE has been a man drowned in the [Derbyshire] Derwent, and great excitement about finding his body. I tell you this because I was so struck with the way Mrs. Dale [a washerwoman] talked of the river, as if it was a living personage, or deity. I could almost imagine the next step would be to take it offerings! 'He didna know Darrant' (a kind of triumph in her voice). 'He said it were nought but a brook.' 'But Darrant got 'im.' 'They never saw his head, he threw his arms up, but Darrant wouldna let him go.' 'Aye, it's a sad pity, seven children! but he shouldna ha' made so light of Darrant. He knows now! Nought but a brook! he knows now!' It sounded as if Darrant had punished him for blaspheming and he had now been summoned before Darrant his judge!"

M. AGATHA TURNER.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DR. DURKHEIM ON "SOCIAL ORIGINS."

(Vol. xiv., p. 421.)

1. A FULL reply to Dr. Durkheim's review of *Social Origins* would occupy many pages of *Folk-Lore*. It must suffice to say that all Dr. Durkheim's objections to my system are rebutted by anticipation, and all the questions which he asks are answered by anticipation, in *Social Origins* itself. Any one may convince himself of this by reading (as a specimen), in company with the review, *Social Origins*, p. 56, Note 1.

2. Dr. Durkheim remarks (*Folk-Lore*, December, 1903, p. 423), that I object to the theory he has proposed (*L'Année Sociologique*, vol. i., p. 6), namely, to see in the phratries the result of the subdivision of a primary horde, whereas, according to him, they were, as he has just remarked, two groups at first autonomous and distinct. He adds that my method "is indeed exposed to criticism when it consists in rejecting an explanation because it is irreconcilable with a preliminary postulate of one's own. A theory must be discussed on its merits."

3. In this passage Dr. Durkheim appears to confuse his own theory of the origin of "phratries in the coalescence of two primary exogamous totem clans" (a theory which is much akin to my own), with his theory of the origin of the totem "clans" *in* the phratries. The latter theory I rejected, after criticism, in *Social Origins* (pp. 83, 84). I did not reject it because it clashed with a postulate of my own, and, as I shall show (par. 5, below), Dr. Durkheim has himself proved that his theory of the origin of totem "clans" is inconceivable and impossible,—according to his own system.

4. I did not, therefore, accept that theory, and when I came to Dr. Durkheim's hypothesis as to the origin of the non-totemic "Matrimonial Classes," I found that it asserted the existence of these classes before, on his theory of totem kins, these kins deserted their totem and arbitrarily took new totems.¹ As I had rejected *that* opinion, I did not discuss a theory which involved its acceptance (namely Dr. Durkheim's hypothesis as to the matrimonial classes), but (*Social Origins*, p. 119) I referred the reader to pp. 81-83, where I gave reasons for not accepting Dr. Durkheim's hypothesis. I did not add that Dr. Durkheim had inadvertently declared his own hypothesis as to the origin of the totem kins to be, as it is, impossible.

5. Any student who wishes to see Dr. Durkheim refute his own theory of the origin of the totem kins within the phratries, may read him in *L'Année Sociologique*, volume i., p. 6, p. 52, and in the same periodical, volume v., pp. 110, 111. In the latter passages (i. 52, v. 110, 111) Dr. Durkheim demonstrates that his own theory (as given in volume i., p. 6) is impossible, and even unthinkable. His theory of the origin of the totem kins, in volume i., p. 6, is, that they were swarms or colonies thrown off from "a primary totem clan" (compare, for a fuller statement, volume v., pp. 91, 92), *which changed their totems*. In volume i., pp. 52, 53, and in volume v., pp. 110, 111, he asserts, and demonstrates, that this change was impossible. "*One can no more change one's totem, than one can change one's soul*" (volume v., p. 111). Yet his totem kins (volume i., p. 6) began their career, he says, by changing their totems, and taking new totems. How utterly impossible this performance was, Dr. Durkheim had demonstrated in volume i., p. 52. "The totem is incarnate in every individual member of the clan : he dwells in their blood ; he is their blood he is a god present in each individual organism, for all of *him* is in each of *them*, and it is in their blood that this deity dwells."

6. But, in volume i., p. 6, we are told that the members of the original "totem clans" who swarmed off from these communities, deserted their totems. Yet these men were *in* these totems, which they deserted, and these totems were *in* them ; were their "gods," their "blood," their "souls," according to Dr. Durkheim (vol. i., p. 52). None the less (vol. i., p. 6) the seceders from the original

¹ *L'Année Sociologique*, vol. i., p. 16.

totem groups chose unto themselves new totems, new gods, new souls, new blood, thus accomplishing what Dr. Durkheim (vol. v., pp. 110, 111) declares to be impossible. And impossible it was if Dr. Durkheim's theory of what a totem then was, be his theory still. The change was possible, however, if the animal names of groups were, as yet, no more than mere names.

A. LANG.

THE CORP CREAGH.

(Vol. xiv., p. 373.)

The following instances of belief in the *Corp Creagh* were narrated by the Rev. Stopford Brooke in a lecture at which I was present at the end of 1901. I wrote to him immediately afterwards asking for particulars, and received the kind reply subjoined:—

"DEAR MADAM,

"I have little more to communicate than I said in the lecture.

"1. When I was a curate in Kensington in 1861 or 1862, I used to visit a girl in consumption who lived in one of the mews. She was a Devon girl, and had come to London on a visit or to service. She was convinced that another girl in Devonshire, who had taken her lover from her as she thought, hated her because he had loved her first, and had made a waxen image of her, into which, and especially into her breast, the girl drove pins every night; 'and these,' she said, 'are killing me. She is a witch; will you send down and have her punished and forbidden? I shall then get well.' And this she talked of with full conviction every time I saw her. I did not worry the dying girl with contradiction.

"2. A lady told me that, dining with a friend of hers in London (the story was told me about twenty years ago), her friend, after dinner, went to a cupboard in the room, out of which she brought a figure moulded in wax into the likeness of the woman who had seduced her husband from her. And she placed the figure inside

the fender and stirred the fire into greater heat. Then she said, again and again, ‘Burn, you white witch! burn!’ She was a well-educated person in good middle-class society.

“Very faithfully yours,

“STOPFORD A. BROOKE.

“December 22nd, 1901.”

To the above instances, I may add the following note, which I got from an old man at Cambridge some three or four years ago. He told me that when he was a boy his uncle used to prepare pigeons’ hearts by drying them before a hot fire and sticking red-hot pins into them while saying a charm. He then sold them to girls or young men who wished to be revenged on a faithless lover or seducer. The old man told me his uncle had to leave Cambridge in consequence of his making these, as the police were after him. He said his uncle had made clay figures also. He never saw these, but he remembered the hearts well.

Alice B. GOMME.

A WAGER LOST.

(Vol. xiv., p. 413.)

I know what appear to me to be two versions of Mr. Manning’s story of the malefactor Price. One, which I heard from my grandfather fifty years ago, came certainly from the neighbourhood of Sheffield. Two cutlers, I believe they were, who had been spending the evening not wisely but too well, just as the witching hour drew nigh were passing the spot where a former boon companion hung in chains. “There hangs poor owd Tom,” says one. “I’ll bet tha drinks, Sammy,” returns the other, “tha durstna go and ask him how he is.” “Done!” says No. 1, turning back, while No. 2 slipped behind the wall and ran quietly back to the foot of the gibbet. “Well, Tommy, owd chap, how’rt gettin’ on?” says the first one, approaching. “Ay!” replies his comrade from behind the wall. “Aw’m cowld, weet, and hungry, lad.” At this the inquirer took to his heels and never stopped till he reached his own house, perfectly sobered.

The other variant I could not assign to any particular place. It was told me in the North, but I am bound to say it came from a man who knew "the road" well in coaching days from London to Manchester and Liverpool, and who moreover had spent his youth in Windsor. A company were one night drinking at a wayside inn, when, the conversation turning on a man who was gibbeted near, a bet was made that one of the company dared not go at midnight and offer him a glass of something to keep the cold out. The drink being prepared the man set out with it, bearing in his other hand a chair on which to stand while making his offering, and followed by the rest of the company, while his opponent slipped along behind the wall or hedge, as in the other stories. Climbing on the chair he held up the glass, remarking that he had brought the unfortunate something to warm him. "It's *too h-o-t*," was growled out in sepulchral tones. "Then, d—n yer, blow it!" he rejoined, and won his wager.

Is not this a good sample of how wandering tales get localised? As the poor boy and cat myth has been attached, among us, to Sir Richard Whittington, as Boccacio localised old Indian tales in the city of Florence, and as Chaucer following assigned Boccacio's stories to English localities (*e.g.* "The Reeve's Tale"), so the Queen of Navarre tells, as occurring in her own knowledge, a story in the *Gesta Romanorum* and Petrus Alfonsus.

W. HENRY JEWITT.

[The first version of this story is localised also in Shropshire, where it has given birth to a proverbial phrase, "Cold and chilly, like old Bolas" (*Shropshire Folklore*, p. 592).—ED.]

BRAEMAR SAYING.

The folks of Braemar, when annoyed by the noisy play of children, threaten them by shouting, "If you don't keep quiet I'll put ma fit (foot) i' the fire." This is the very vigour of scolding, and usually has the desired effect. Will someone kindly give an explanation?

A. MACDONALD.

Durris School, by Aberdeen.

MIDSUMMER BONFIRES.

(Vol. xii., p. 315.)

I have lit upon what I cannot doubt to be an interesting survival of observing St. John's Eve in the valley of the Aberdeenshire Dee, and as "in Scotland the traces of Midsummer fires are few" (*G. B.* iii., 292), May and November being the general dates of bonfire celebrations there, it seems the more desirable to put it on record.

There died one hundred and fifteen years ago a Mr. Alexander Hogg of London, merchant, leaving among other benefactions to his native parish of Durris, Kincardineshire, ten shillings a year to the herds around the hill of Cairnshee (Fairies' Cairn) for the purpose of making a Midsummer bonfire, in remembrance of the fact that he as a boy herded cattle there. A further sum was left to provide barrels of ale, cheese, and bread for those who assemble to witness the celebration. This curious observance is duly followed every year, and forms one of the attractions of the district. As many as half a dozen musicians resort to the hill, and dancing is kept up till midnight or longer.

Can it be doubted that Mr. Hogg thus gave new life to an old custom which had been known to his boyhood? Let us note some particulars that go to prove its connection with prehistoric times.

The fire must be lit on the twenty-fourth of June just as the last limb of the sun disappears beneath the horizon.

The height on which the fire is lit is the highest eminence in the district from which the beholders come, and thus the sun would be seen at the latest possible moment.

The herds must, according to the conditions of the will, collect the fuel themselves, each bringing as many bundles as possible so that a large fire may result. As there are ten lads on the surrounding farms that now represent the herds of old days, the pile is often of considerable dimensions. Now we find from some of the survivals on the Continent that every one was expected to add his share to the heap of straw or firewood which formed the fire of St. John. Moreover, any one not doing so and omitting to be present at the lighting was doomed to have his barley full of thistles and his oats full of weeds.

The young men are in the habit of pushing each other through the smoke and flames. This may arise from a belief that the person so "passed" would be charmed against disease during the coming year. Some would see in the action an indication of early human sacrifice. I have been at many "herds' fires" (about ten, I think), and have invariably seen it done. It is possible, however, that in this instance it is nothing but a display of animal spirits. But in any case I think there is enough evidence to show that the rite is a relic of pagan times, and that Mr. Hogg, in connecting it with his own name, did but follow, with a difference, the precedent of the early missionaries when they dedicated the Midsummer fires to St. John the Baptist.

A. MACDONALD.

Durris School, by Aberdeen.

FIFTH OF NOVEMBER CUSTOMS.

(Vol. xiv., p. 185, and *ante* p. 1.)

There were I think more Guy Fawkes effigies than usual in London this year; a sign, I fear, of want of work among the casual labourers. One procession, which I saw from my window in Kensington about the middle of the day, deserves notice. The "Guy," an unusually large one, was mounted in a small cart drawn by a pony. It was preceded, first, by a man ringing a bell, and then by two dancers, wearing costumes resembling that of a clown and masks of the common painted kind sold in the shops at this season, who danced up the street in front of the effigy in the real old style, lifting the arms in the air alternately, in time to the motion of the feet. For musicians they had a man playing a shrill long tin whistle or pipe, and another following the cart beating a drum. A man in woman's clothes walked beside the cart, occasionally cutting a clumsy caper, as well as his clinging skirts would allow. The rear of the procession was brought up by the clown, capering and curveting and shaking his money-box.

It was a poor vulgar show, no doubt, but it retained in its debased state several of the principal features of the old morris-

dance. There were the time-honoured figures of the Fool and the Bessy accompanying the dancers; the drum and penny whistle represented the ancient tabor and pipe; while the bell which the Fool formerly wore hung at his back, was now carried in the van to inform the householders of the passing of the show (very possibly the original purpose for which the bell was introduced). As a remarkable specimen of what is daily becoming rarer, genuine London folklore, I think this Guy Fawkes procession is worthy of record.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

5th November, 1903.

MYTH MAKING.

I have found a good example of Myth Making in the *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clarijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6* (Hakluyt Society, 1859), p. 35. Speaking of the columns of twisted snakes which supported a votive tripod, dedicated at Delphi after Platæa by the Greeks, and removed by Constantine to Constantinople, the writer says :

"There are three copper figures of serpents, they are twisted like a rope, and they have three heads with open mouths. It is said that these figures of serpents were put here on account of an enchantment which was effected. The city used to be infested by many serpents and other evil animals which killed and poisoned man; but an emperor performed an enchantment over these figures, and serpents have never done any harm to the people of the city since that time."

W. H. D. ROUSE.

REVIEWS.

ALTERSKLASSEN UND MÄNNERBÜNDE, EINE DARSTELLUNG
DER GRUNDFORMEN DER GESELLSCHAFT, von HEINRICH
SCHURTZ. Berlin: G. Reimer. 1902. Pp. ix., 458.
Price 8 M.

IN this work Dr. Schurtz pursues and expands an idea which had already found a place in his *Ursprung der Kultur*, published two years earlier. Sociologists have devoted much time and labour to the discussion of clan and family relationships and their developments, which are in the main dissociative, and in so doing have frequently overlooked the associations built up on a broader basis, whose influence has tended to knit the tribe, and eventually the state, together by counteracting the influence of blood kinship and local patriotism. He divides social phenomena into two groups, at the same time admitting that in practice they rarely correspond in all respects to a single theoretical type, but are more often "mixed forms." We have in the first place the primary, natural organisations, which depend on blood relationship, real or supposed, membership of which seldom depends on the will of the individual. On the other hand we have the secondary organisations ("artificial" is, as Dr. Schurtz admits, an unfortunate denomination for them), the existence of which is due to individual choice and the play of the social instinct.

Among the lower races these voluntary associations are represented according to Dr. Schurtz's view (1) by the "Altersklassen," the divisions into which primitive peoples in many parts of the world are grouped, at any rate roughly, according to age, and, especially in Australia, where the system is closely connected with marriage regulations, according to sex; (2) by male societies, which Dr. Schurtz is probably right in regarding as the direct outcome, in many cases, of *Altersklassen*, with the *Männerhaus*,

or more properly the bachelors' house, as their outward and visible sign; and (3) by secret societies and other associations, membership of which is really voluntary, and which therefore differ in an important respect from the two forms of organisation already mentioned.

After a general introduction Dr. Schurtz proceeds to discuss the main features and the importance of the system of classification by age, the distribution of which is set forth, together with that of the other customs considered in this work, in a map at the end of the volume. In his view the original purpose of the *Altersklasse* was to regulate and limit the intercourse of the sexes before and after marriage, and to restrict the freedom previously enjoyed in this respect by compelling a man to marry within his own generation, and by limiting the indulgence of free love to pre-matrimonial days both for men and women, with the intention of securing the married men on the one hand against the competition of the bachelors, and on the other hand against the temptation to continue after marriage the roving life of the unattached Don Juan, and thereby perhaps imperilling the health of the offspring.

In the second place the *Altersklassen*, at any rate in their more developed forms, present themselves to Dr. Schurtz as expressions of the *Geselligkeitstrieb* or social instinct of man, and more especially of the male portion of the community. It is of especial importance that the bachelors' or men's house, the external expression of this social instinct, has but seldom a girls' house to correspond to it. The strength and activity of the class of young men, who are primarily the hunters and warriors, have the further effect of promoting the solidarity of the married and unmarried men of the group, with the result that the use of the bachelors' house is frequently extended to all male members of the group above a certain age. In another direction the influence of the young men is seen in the elective character of the war chief, who supplants the hereditary peace chief when the warriors assemble for hostile purposes. The influence of both these tendencies was adverse to the disruptive forces of the clan and the local group, and favoured the development of the unity of the larger group and eventually of the nation, as is exemplified by the history of our own Teutonic ancestors.

In the next section, devoted to the men's house, Dr. Schurtz

describes its extremely varied development, and at the same time supplies us with a good deal of information as to its outward appearance and internal arrangements. Originally, as he shows, the custom was, in a stage in which the absence of buildings precludes the possibility of more definite arrangements, for the unmarried males to sleep on their own side of the camp fire. With the decline of nomadic habits and the origin of permanent habitations a house distinguished from family dwellings by its large size came into existence for their benefit. This bachelors' house develops on the one hand into a men's house, frequented by all the males, on the other into a boys' house, to which adults are no longer attracted. In other cases again it becomes a centre of amusements, from which married women and children are no longer excluded, a public restaurant, and a bath. On another line of development again it becomes, as the residence of the warriors, the place of assembly and centre of political life and, when the war chief becomes supreme in times of peace, the residence of the chief of the tribe; or on the other hand it may become the guard house, the prison, or the treasury. On the religious side it tends to become the centre of a cult of the dead with a possibility of development in the direction of the temple, which again the sexual liberty which is the privilege of the unmarried tends to turn into a temple of Venus. It further fulfils the function of a lodging-house for strangers, and may thus have been the lineal ancestor of the modern inn. Finally it is frequently transformed into the workshop of several trades, more often of only one, and is in this respect a predecessor of the village smithy.

The third section of the book deals with the secret societies which are found in North America, West Africa, and Melanesia, with the dance societies of North America, and with other voluntary associations of primitive societies, all of which Dr. Schurtz is disposed to regard as evolved from the *Altersklassen*.

On the whole it may be said that the book is a singularly clear and stimulating presentation of facts and carefully worked out theories. At the same time there are naturally numerous points at which it is open to criticism. It seems, for example, misleading to classify the *Altersklassen* and still more the *Heiratsklassen* of Australia among voluntary associations. Membership of the former hardly depends on any voluntary act of the indi-

vidual, and in the case of the latter does not even depend on the performance of certain ceremonies, but, like the totem, is regulated in most cases by maternal descent.

Again, it seems open to question how far the intermarrying class has been derived from the age group. The intermarrying classes seldom correspond in number to the age-groups, and are, further, found side by side with them, which would hardly be the case if one were descended lineally from the other. It is true that the intermarrying classes are called in some cases by names implying differences of age, but on the other hand membership of them depends on birth, and the alleged object—of preventing the intermarriage of old and young—is not attained; though intermarriage of successive generations of the same family—perhaps the original object of the system—is effectually barred. Perhaps the simplest solution of the origin of the intermarrying classes is to see in them the product of a dichotomy of the phratry, based possibly in the main on considerations of age. This view of the case is borne out by the fact that the original classes are in some cases further subdivided. The process was perhaps not quite a simple one, but it seems to involve smaller difficulties than a transformation of the age-groups. It may be further questioned how far Dr. Schurtz is right in referring ceremonies of initiation solely to the change of class to the exclusion of a possible connection with totemism. Both in this case and in the case of secret societies it would not be difficult to put his facts in an entirely different light, throw into relief the relation between them and the totem system and beliefs.

Dr. Schurtz may be right in supposing that the house of the chief has passed through a previous stage in which it served as a dwelling for the unmarried men, but it is not difficult to see that where a nomadic tribe with well-developed differences of rank has become sedentary, such an hypothesis is by no means necessary to explain the facts.

Dr. Schurtz is disposed to trace back the origin of the classes, on the one hand to the social instinct of man, on the other to a desire to introduce marriage regulations. In fact he seems to alternate in this and other cases between two views. Against the first theory it may be urged that the class is very far from being a voluntary association among the most primitive peoples; and Dr. Schurtz has hardly shown that in Australia or among the Bushmen or Fuegians (for whom he gives no references), the class system

has the social importance which he attributes to it. As to the original connection of the classes with marriage, Dr. Roth's view, that they were intended to regulate the supply of food, was certainly worth discussing, especially in view of the fact that the class of young men, in Dr. Schurtz's opinion the strongest and most active, had to submit to the greater number of food tabus. Singularly enough, Dr. Schurtz assumes that the totemistic food tabus are more important than those dependent on age, a complete reversal of the real facts.

The fact that marriage regulations based on the age-group are, if found at all, limited to Australia also tells against his view so far as it is intended to apply to all the facts. At the same time it is quite possible that such an extremely natural division of society developed in different parts of the world from different reasons.

It may be well to note some important and relevant groups of facts which Dr. Schurtz has neglected. In estimating the relative social importance of age groups and totem kins, we can hardly afford to overlook the evidence afforded by the sanctity of the kin and the bloodfeud, that the kin is the group to which allegiance is ultimately due. Again, the influence of sexual tabu in aiding, or perhaps even originating, the development of the *Männerhaus* is a question that demands discussion. We may also ask whether Dr. Schurtz has not overlooked the possibility that the warriors or hunters, forming what we may call an occupation group, have in many cases formed an organisation which for obvious reasons is indistinguishable from the age-group but can hardly be regarded as identical with it.

When he is dealing with the main thesis of his book Dr. Schurtz's views are intelligible, if disputable. The same cannot be said of his statements as to the family and the kin. He holds that the kin (*Sippe*) arose from the decay of the family, and was due to the "social instinct" of the young men, and in a less degree of the maidens, of the primitive group. What constituted this family we are not told, nor is there any attempt to show in detail how social instincts would lead to the splitting up of a local group among several different kins. Equally unfortunate are the hypotheses as to the origin of exogamic rules and the phratry system, which call in the help of instincts against in-and-in breeding on the one hand, and against getting a wife from too great a distance on the other. These elements of the book are, however, independent of

the main argument, the value of which is not in any way diminished by somewhat crude theories on subjects beyond the immediate field of research.

The index, as is often the case with foreign works, is hardly so full as could be wished, and a considerable list of *errata* might be given.

N. W. THOMAS.

DIE VOLKSKUNDE IN DEN JAHREN 1897-1902. BERICHTE UEBER NEUERSCHEINUNGEN. Von Dr. F. S. KRAUSS. Erlangen : F. Junge. 1903.

IN this report on the folklore publications of six years, which fills 180 pages of the *Romanische Forschungen*, our indefatigable Viennese fellow worker has rendered a real service to folklore studies. Between four and five hundred folkloristic items, books, pamphlets, review or newspaper articles are noticed, and noticed in such a way as to emphasise their special features and to enable the reader to judge their value or (as is frequently the case) their lack of value. If I add that at least one-third of these items belong to the Slavonic languages and would otherwise remain unknown to the majority of Western students, it will be seen that Dr. Krauss' last production is indispensable to all who wish to follow the general movement of folklore studies and to know what is being done in folklore research. As far as I am concerned it has filled me with an, I know, hopeless longing that one of the worthy but *borné* millionaires who wish to encourage learning but don't know how to set about it, would entrust me with the spending of a thousand pounds to form a library for the Folk-Lore Society.

Dr. Krauss' report may further be recommended to the many people who fancy (and with how much justification !) that anything German must needs be dull. He writes in a racy, slapdash style that makes one sit up all the time, and his pages are enlivened by any number of *obiter dicta* generally enunciated à propos of anything in the world but the matter in hand, as for instance the charming affirmation that no really intelligent person ever cares to vote,¹ and that it is not worth while worrying a rap about

¹ Great wits jump. It will, I am sure, please Dr. Krauss to know that Mr. Lang once gave immortal utterance to the same sentiment in the columns of the *Daily News*.

female suffrage, as whether Jack Topper or Jenny Draggleskirt sits in Parliament and intones amen to the decision of the Panjandrums that be, is utterly indifferent.

For us English folklorists this report is comfortable reading. Justice is rendered to our work and to that of our American cousins with a large and cordial generosity that the present writer, at least, can only acknowledge with an uneasy blush. I do not think I am the least attentive reader of *Folk-Lore*, yet I confess that the import and value of certain contributions to its pages have been made clearer to me by Dr. Krauss' brief but pregnant commendations.

Questions of method and principle occupy Dr. Krauss very largely. With most of what he urges I am in full accord. But there are matters of disagreement, and as, like all first-rate talkers, Dr. Krauss is only happy when one disagrees with him, I will pick out one. In defining the respective relations of folklore and other branches of historical resource, Dr. Krauss discusses at length the question of language and race. Polemising vigorously against the older school of comparative philologists and the identification of race and speech, Dr. Krauss, in my opinion, goes, as is the mode of the day, far too much to the other extreme. He seems to imply that speech—a mere *instrument* of culture, he styles it—is an altogether secondary element in the total mass of a racial culture. Facts do not, I think, justify this conclusion. The very instance he gives is dead against it. Etruscans, Gauls, and Keliberians, he says, were Romanised and lost their native forms of speech, but they did not therefore abandon their racial essence, they did not become Romans. Now to me, on the contrary, it seems obvious that, differ among themselves as they may, modern Frenchmen, North Italians, and Spaniards possess in common features that clearly mark them off from the Teutonic or Slavonic racial groups, and that these features are largely due to their possession of a common culture speech basis. Why should the Irishman differ so profoundly from the Frenchman? There is little difference between them from the physico-anthropological point of view; in both cases there exists a pre-Aryan substratum modified firstly by a Celto-Aryan, secondly by a Teutono-Aryan immigration. But the one has retained a Celtic instrument of culture, the other has borrowed and independently developed a Latin instrument of culture. Here too, contrary to what com-

monly obtains, the difference is as marked between the "folk," the less cultured portions of the two communities, as it is between the cultured portions. It is impossible for a community to possess any individuality and not to stamp it upon its most frequently used instrument of culture, its speech ; impossible too that the individual form thus given to the instrument should not in its turn react upon the further development of the culture. Consider the case of the United States. The Briton is a mixed animal, but the North American far more so ; the added mixture of new bloods, the novel climatic, economic, social conditions all tend to modify the British type in the United States. Against this modifying tendency there fights the immensely powerful influence of a common instrument of culture. But that instrument itself is being modified ; a new species of English is being elaborated. Let but the process be accelerated, and a century may see the constitution of a type differing as much from its English original as does the French, or German, or Slavonic. Again, it seems to me wholly incorrect to urge that it is comparatively indifferent what speech a community uses. For upwards of two centuries the English race expressed itself, mainly, in an alien form of speech, in French. The literature thus created can, I believe, be distinguished from that of the purely French writers of the time ; novel and fruitful elements were introduced by it into the body of French culture. None the less it is certain that this Anglo-French literature bears but a slight relation either to the older Anglo-Saxon literature or to that which arose when the English constitution had absorbed the foreign elements, and, rejecting the alien, developed a national, an English form. Chaucer would have been a man of genius had he lived in the twelfth instead of in the fourteenth century, but he would not have been the English Chaucer ; the foreign instrument would have influenced his achievement. As regards "folk" lore in especial, almost exclusively traditional as it is, how can it be contended that speech is unimportant ? Memory attaches to the well-known sound as well as to well-known content ; let but the sound which recalls the sense perish, and three-fourths of what would be recalled perishes with it.

I could, to borrow a phrase of the author's, go on gossiping about his book till Doomsday and three weeks beyond. I have said enough I trust to send many readers to its pages.

ALFRED NUTT.

DIE VOLSKUNDE ALS WISSENSCHAFT. Von E. HOFFMANN-KRAYER. Zurich. 1902.

In this interesting and suggestive essay, dedicated to Mr. Hartland, the founder and President of the Swiss Folk-Lore Society expounds the purport and scope of our study. His standpoint is, in the main, that of most English folklorists: the "folk" whose "lore" is to be studied comprises the backward, unprogressive elements of the people who have reached a high stage of culture; in contradistinction to culture-lore (*Kulturgeschichte*), which lays stress upon the individualistic dynamic forces of society, folklore is concerned with its communal static elements; the two studies have, however, much in common, and many subjects can only be adequately treated from the varying standpoints of both.

Folklore may seek to determine the specific characteristics of a people, or to trace the formation and development of belief and fancy as they manifest themselves in practice and myth; hence two main divisions of the study, racial and general folklore as they may be termed, the one concerned with the enumeration and description of specific groups of phenomena, the other with the exposition and interpretation of the principles deducible from the comparison of many such groups. These two sections of folklore study must receive simultaneous and equal attention, though it should never be forgotten that the synthesis of general folklore can only be securely based on the exhaustive and accurate analysis of racial folklore; before we can explain and interpret we must know.

With these considerations, illustrated as they are by pertinent concrete examples and by illuminating analogies drawn from other branches of study, we English folklorists are not likely to quarrel. In the brief survey of the chief problems of folklore and in the indication of the solutions which he favours, the author seems to me to lay too great stress upon similarities and upon their explanation by direct transmission. I miss a clearer recognition of the view that transmitted influence is only effective where lending and borrowing cultures stand on much the same level, so that successful transmission is less the cause of similarity between two bodies of folklore than a proof of their essential identity.¹

¹ [What does Mr. Nutt say to the case of the West Indian negroes, *ante*, p. 87?—ED.]

In view of the title chosen by the author I should have liked some discussion of the methodical side of our study. In a sense, all sciences have but one method; nevertheless each branch of science has its specific *technique*; what is valid in one kind of research is not necessarily valid in all. Much of the discredit that still attaches to folklore studies in the eyes of historians and philologists arises precisely from our (legitimate) disregard of canons to which they attach, rightly, the utmost sanctity. To distinguish the characteristic features of folkloristic method, to justify their scientific *raison d'être*, were a task germane to Professor Hoffmann-Krayer's purpose in placing before the educated public of Switzerland this sound exposition and hearty vindication of the nature and objects of folklore study. If my remarks induce him to essay it I shall feel I have rendered service to my fellow-students.

ALFRED NUTT.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF OLD AND NEW WORLD CIVILISATIONS. A Comparative Research based on a Study of the Ancient Mexican Religious, Sociological, and Calendrical Systems. By MRS. ZELIA NUTTALL. Cambridge, Mass. Peabody Museum. 1901.

STAR-GAZING is somewhat out of fashion. The golden nails set in the heavens above have lost their influence upon the imaginative faculty of man. The romance of belief has given way to the romance of science, which draws totally different lessons from the information granted to it from the fathomless depths of the sky. Not so, however, in ancient times, when man lived in much closer contact with the phenomena of nature, and regulated his life and government by the example set from above. Mystical symbolism, administrative regulations and social prescription draw their origin and justification from observations made upon the stars and the constellations, some moveable, others apparently immutable. Such is the result of the inspiration which Mrs. Nuttall received one evening in the month of February, 1898, when, "stepping to the window, [she] looked out at Polaris and the circumpolar regions of the sky, with a newly-awakened and eager interest." Proceeding

from a profound and prolonged study of the religion, calendar, and cosmogony of the ancient Mexicans, a new solution of the problems with which she had been confronted presented itself to her in the astronomical vision. The plurality of the gods, the mystical ceremonial, the curious social organisation with its seven powers ; in fact, everything connected with that ancient civilisation was now seen to have been based upon the old worship of the polar star and the Ursa major. Its circumvolutions round a fixed centre gave a satisfactory explanation of the Swastika, found as profusely on old Mexican and Central American sculptures and drawings as almost everywhere in the old world. This pole-star worship is then traced back to Asia through China, Persia, Assyria, Babylonia, Phoenicia, even to Egypt, and then to Europe. The author finds everywhere proofs for a deep-seated worship of the pole-star and the circumvolution of the Ursa major constellation, which produced the symbolism of the numerical value and basis of one, four, seven, and twelve. Mrs. Nuttall discusses the question as to whether all these systems point to one centre whence they radiated and from which they were carried from place to place; and furthermore the relation in which American—notably Mexican—civilisation stood to Asiatic. She is inclined to believe that the Phoenicians played a decisive rôle in the distribution of these astronomical conceptions, and that America owes to these Mediterranean seafarers its civilisation and its inhabitants. It is a bold conclusion, but the enormous mass of materials collected by Mrs. Nuttall and the close comparisons instituted by her, resting on the best available authorities, make her book a valuable contribution to the history of civilisation. The weakness of such investigations lies firstly in the undue weight given to apparent analogies, which, when examined in their respective historical developments, prove to have sprung from totally different origins ; and secondly in the generalisation of the results obtained by such comparisons. Too little is granted to human ingenuity, and too much stress is laid on one single source of influence upon primitive man and his more advanced successors.

It is not possible to reduce the whole mass of ancient faith and custom to one single set of ideas ; one, moreover, which is of a very complicated nature. Extensive astronomical observations are the result of leisure and of an advanced intellectual development. In a more primitive stage, simple observations of changes

in the position of the stars serve only to mark the approach of the changes in the seasons of the year, and to regulate the agricultural side of life rather than its political and social sides. Higher cults are the outcome of later stages of development. They may react upon older rites and forms, but it is not easily conceivable how they could lie at the very root of primitive forms of worship. But a book like this one produced by the indefatigable industry and perseverance of Mrs. Nuttall is highly welcome. It starts by irritating the reader by the boldness of the new solution, and then slowly forces him to recognise though reluctantly that, agreeing or disagreeing with the views of the author, there is another explanation also possible beyond, or next to, the one we ourselves may favour for the time being. Mrs. Nuttall disarms criticism to a certain extent by the modesty with which she presents her case, and by announcing her effort not as the last word on the problem, on the contrary, inviting criticism and corrections.

In one point we must find fault, not with the author, but with those who are responsible for the technical production of the book. It is printed on paper so heavy that it makes it impossible to hold a volume of only 600 pages in one's hand for any length of time. But in order not to finish with a discordant note I must express the satisfaction which all are sure to feel with the elaborate and excellent index at the end of the book.

M. GASTER.

GUERNSEY FOLK LORE. From MSS. by the late Sir EDGAR MACCULLOCH, Bailiff of Guernsey. Edited by EDITH F. CAREY. London: Elliot Stock. Guernsey: F. Clarke, States Arcade. Large 8vo 616 pp., numerous illustrations. 1903. Price 12s. 6d.

THE collections of Sir Edgar MacCulloch were made more than forty years since. His preface is dated 1864, yet at his death in 1896 he left them still in MS., bequeathing them to the Royal Court of Guernsey, of which he had been for many years member and president. They were contained, says the editor, Miss Carey, "in three manuscript books, closely written on both sides

of the pages, and interspersed with innumerable scraps of paper containing notes, additions, and corrections. As Sir Edgar himself says in his preface, the items were written down as collected with no attempt at classification." With a public spirit worthy of imitation, the Royal Court of Guernsey made arrangements for the publication of the MSS., and Miss Edith Carey was prevailed upon to undertake the task of editing them. This task she has performed with the greatest care and thoroughness, transcribing the notes with her own hand, placing them "under their different headings, as recommended by the Folk-Lore Society," enriching them with numerous illustrations from photographs and drawings, and with additional notes collected in Guernsey and Sark by herself and her cousin, the late Miss Ernestine Le Pelley, a descendant of the former Seigneurs of Sark. These additions comprise some of the most interesting portions of the book, for while Sir Edgar is occasionally prosy and longwinded, nay, indeed, discursive, Miss Carey is always clear, terse, and definite. In the modesty which so strikingly characterises her editorship she has recorded her own portion of the work in tiny "pearl" type, while Sir Edgar's stands nobly forth in stately "pica," i.e. a size larger than the largest type used in printing *Folk-Lore*, while *pearl* is four sizes smaller than our smallest type, and much too small for the comfort of most readers. Sir Edgar's own footnotes are given in a medium type, with the result that three kinds of type, violently contrasted, are frequently displayed on the same page. The effect is both unsightly and inconvenient; moreover, the book is too heavy to hold in the hand and requires a desk. It is a pity that it has been got up in a style so little calculated to recommend it, for, barring a little old-fashioned prolixity, it deserves to hold a high place among local collections.

Miss Carey must be congratulated on the skill with which she has reduced her chaotic materials to order. She has classified them under the following heads: Festival Customs, Local Customs, Prehistoric Monuments, Natural Objects, Chapels and Holy Wells, Fairies, Demons and Goblins, the Devil, Ghosts and Prophetic Warnings, Witches and Witchcraft, Charms, Spells, and Incantations, Folk Medicine and Leechcraft, Story Telling, Historical Reminiscences, Nursery Songs and Children's Games, Superstitions Generally, Proverbs and Weather-lore; besides an Appendix containing (*inter alia*) several ballads and songs in the dialect of

the Channel Islands. It will be seen that the work covers a wide field ; and the matter is derived from many sources, from local records as well as from local informants.

We get some interesting glimpses of old Guernsey life. There is a full account of the *Chevauchée de St. Michel*, the annual perambulation for the purpose, not of beating the bounds, but of inspecting the roads of the island. There is a photograph of “*le grand guerrue*,” drawn by (in this instance) five pairs of horses and one of oxen, the *attelage* being the joint contribution of the neighbours, who will each in turn make use of the same “great plough.” It is still in use. Moreover, at the subsequent feast provided by the farmer for his helpers, the men and the women eat separately, no women sitting down till the men have finished. The *vraic* (seaweed) harvest is strictly regulated by ordinance of the Royal Court. It is an occasion of festivity, of feasting in the household and dancing at the tavern in the evening, but no longer, unfortunately, to the music of the old-fashioned *chifournie*, the mediæval *rote*. Old French *rondes*, however, still prevail in Guernsey as in Canada. We hear much, too, of the *jonquière*, *lit de fouaille*, or *green bed*, a low pallet serving as “a sort of rustic divan,” to be found in the living room of every farmhouse and cottage, “which at Midsummer, after the fresh fern has been cut,” is decorated with flowers and fern. Formerly a girl, elected from among the inhabitants of the district, was seated in state beneath the floral canopy, “where under the name of ‘La Môme,’ she received in silence the homage of the assembled guests” (p. 52). This custom is not altogether clearly described. We may note here that in Guernsey the household furniture belongs to the wife, not the husband. It is strange to find so little of fishermen’s folklore. A bumble-bee flying before the fisher on the way to the shore is a good omen, but if it meets him, a bad one (p. 505. Cf. *Folk-Lore*, vol. xi., p. 438). To see a cormorant before a gull has been seen is a very bad omen. It is unlucky to count the catch until the fish have been landed, and currant-cake should not be taken in the boat (p. 506). It is customary to take off the hat when passing a curiously-shaped rock called *Le Petit Bonhomme d’Andriou*, of which a photograph is given. Offerings of biscuit or wine, and even old clothes, were formerly made to it, by throwing them into the sea. Other rocks also are saluted by lifting the hats or lowering the topmast. We are persuaded that more may yet be gathered on this head.

Turning to general beliefs, we find that the rude stone monuments of the island are associated with the fairies, who are supposed to be a race of very little people, now extinct. The story (p. 222) of the wholesale suicide of the fairy race on the advent of the invading witches, sounds a little *ben trovato*, but there seems in fact to be a clear tradition that the "black art," in its full development was an importation into the island from France. It is evidently a living superstition in Guernsey. We have the witches who are born witches, and those who become witches by voluntary compact with the Evil One; we find the *sorcheleurs* and (as usual) the *désorcheleurs* who profess to vanquish them; and further "many persons not usually considered wizards are looked upon with no favourable eye from their supposed possession of books relating to the black art, by the study of which they are thought to be able to control the elements," to discover secrets, &c. These books are called *Albins*, "*le Grammaile*" (or "*le Grand-Mêle*" and "*le Petit-Mêle*," "*le grand Albert*" and "*le petit Albert*"), names obviously derived from that of Albertus Magnus. Anecdotes of these books abound; how the unskilful pupil of some wizard misused them, how some repentant wizard, or his heirs, tried to burn, bury, or drown them, and how they nevertheless returned again to their own place, like the book of Michael Scott in the *Last Minstrel*. One old man owed his reputation as a wizard to the fact that he not only possessed books, but was seen *playing cards without a visible adversary*, a warning to any solitary folklorist addicted to "patience"!

The local nicknames are interesting, in view of recent discussions. We have learnt already (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xiii., p. 396), that the Jersey men are known as Jersey Crapauds. Here we read that when St. Patrick visited the Channel Islands he was rudely received and pelted in Jersey, but made welcome in Guernsey, so he took the toads and snakes from Guernsey and banished them to Jersey, which thus got a double share. Miss Carey gives evidence (p. 602) to show "what close connection there was between Guernsey and Jersey before the wars of the Commonwealth, when—the islands taking different sides—was established a feud which has never properly been healed." But if derogatory nicknames are any evidence, the feud must be accounted for otherwise; for all the four islands, and even all the

parishes of Guernsey have derogatory, and generally animal, nicknames.¹

Many other points strike one in glancing through the volume. A blade-bone must be pricked before it is thrown away, or the witches will make a ship of it, as they will also of an egg-shell if the bottom be not broken through (p. 381). It is advisable to swear, but not too forcibly! when planting small herbs, "to render them thoroughly efficacious" (p. 425). Carved oak chests, if saintly effigies or scriptural subjects be depicted on them, were used to cure erysipelas by opening and shutting the lid nine times, so as to fan the face of the patient (p. 402). A funeral must never be carried down hill; it would be most unlucky for the deceased person (p. 104). Whoever finds a dead body on the shore must provide for its burial, or he will be haunted by the spectre of the deceased (p. 238). Cf. Fifeshire Folklore, *ante*, p. 97). Witches transform themselves into red-legged choughs and wild-ducks (pp. 598, 600) as well as into hares and cats.

Other more staple incidents of folklore to be met with are the Holy Maul story, the robin fetching fire from heaven, the soul leaving the body of the sleeper, and the dead mother who returns to tend her children. But it would be as impossible as unfair to pick out all the plums from the volume. It is a thoroughly genuine first-hand collection, and ought to be useful to investigators in many departments of folklore.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

¹ " Alderney, *vâques* (cows); Sark, *corbins* (crows); Jersey, *crapauds* (toads); Guernsey, *ânes* (donkeys). *Guernsey Parish Nicknames*, St. Pierre Port, *Les Clichards*; St. Samson, *Raiñes* (frogs); Le Valle, *Ann'-tons* (cock-chafers); Le Catel, *Le Catelain est un âne-pur-sang*; St. Sauveur, *Fouarmillons* (ant-lions) [?]; St. Pierre-du-Bois, *Anes à pid de ch' vâ* (asses with horses' feet); La Fôret, *Bourdons* (drones); St. Martin, *Dravants* (large ray-fish); St. André, *Craînchons* (siftings)." ("in sifting corn the *craînchons* are the light and defective grains and husks that gather in the *middle* of the sieve, as it is worked with a circular motion. St. Andrew's is the *middle* parish of the island.") (pp. 506, 507).

ROMANTIC TALES FROM THE PANJĀB: WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY NATIVE HANDS. Collected and edited from original sources by the REV. CHARLES SWYNNERTON, F.S.A. Constable. 21s. net.

MR. SWYNNERTON has already published one book of Indian stories which is probably known to readers of *Folk-Lore*, and the present work is of the same general kind. The style unfortunately is not very good, but although this somewhat detracts from the interest it does not lessen the value of the stories for scientific purposes. The illustrations are excellent, and present many points of interest for students in their details. Although there are faults in drawing, many of them are graceful and pleasing in themselves, apart from extraneous considerations.

With regard to the tales themselves, it should first be observed that Mr. Swynnerton is not familiar with the literature of his subject. Regarded as a first-hand record, the book is none the worse for that. There is the less likelihood of the stories having been altered to suit preconceived ideas. Mr. Swynnerton does not disguise that he has played the editor in some cases, and indeed it is often necessary to do so unless the reader is to be regaled with a feast of scraps. Had he known of all the published versions of his stories, he might unconsciously have introduced into his versions what never was there. But his preface and notes have the air of knowledge, and it is therefore necessary to warn students that the Editor does not appear to have made a wide study. He gives (p. 30) three published series of the story of Rasālu, but omits the most important of all, that of Major Temple in the first volume of *Legends of the Panjāb*. Major Temple's work indeed contains parallels to Hū and Rānjhā (No. 38), Mīrza and Sahibanh (39), Pūrnān Bhagat (34), and others or parts of others.

Hū and Rānjhā is a charming love-story, which in this version ends happily, as it does in Temple's, but which in others (and probably in its original) ended in tragedy for the lovers, as Mr. Swynnerton himself divines. The *swayamvara* appears in it, and there are other incidents of interest. Mr. Swynnerton diffidently suggests that there may be more in common with Hero and Leander than the jingle of names; there is little or nothing in the story to suggest it, but a Greek echo is possible. More might be said for the remarkable episode of *Mirshakāri*, who, with his lute,

made the wild beasts come to him. *Pîran Bhagat* is the Indian equivalent of Joseph, and is a most popular character in Indian tales: an episode so widely diffused cannot be easily traced to its source, but here too we have the Greek parallel of Hippolytus. A shooting episode in Rasâlu (p. 213) reminds one of Odysseus and the Axes. The princess set adrift in a chest, the parallel of Danae, is also found in the person of Dilârâm in the remarkable tale of Nek Bakht. The two parrots guarding their faithless mistress, the fate of one and shrewdness of the other, the tale of Rasâlu (p. 283) are found in the west, the best known version being in the *Gesta Romanorum*. Human sacrifice at founding a building, an unjust judge convicted by *reductio ad absurdum*, the feeding of ghosts of the dead, are a few amongst many of the interesting episodes of the book. As a story, we think that of Gûl Bâdshâh bears the palm; its fantastic setting makes it one of the best of fairy tales. The book, in spite of the faults I have indicated, will be necessary to students of folk-tales.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

CONTES POPULAIRES D'AFRIQUE, PAR RENÉ BASSET. Paris.
E. GUilmoto. 1903.

An anthology of folk-tales gathered from the whole African continent seems, at first sight, an undertaking so vast that any attempt to produce one in a moderate compass would be little likely to be attended with satisfactory results. However, we are agreeably disappointed in M. Basset's collection, which, at any rate brings out the common elements underlying the folklore of a continent so far from homogeneous, ethnologically and philologically. The tales are divided into nine sections, following the linguistic classification of F. Müller and Lepsius, except in the case of the "Negro" and "Nuba-Fula" groups, which have been re-arranged, geographically, as "Nile," "Soudan," and "Senegambia and Guinea." There are thus seven divisions, instead of Müller's six; and in addition to these we have an eighth, consisting of tales from Madagascar (which does not, strictly speaking, belong to Africa), and a ninth, headed "Contes des Nègres des Colonies," giving specimens from Mauritius, Louisiana, the Antilles and Brazil.

M. Basset has indicated his sources with the most scrupulous care. He has drawn on many collections (including his own) which will be familiar to the readers of *Folk-Lore*, from the older works of Kölle, Bleke, Schön, and Steere to Dr. Stumme's *Tunisische Märchen*, M. Junod's *Chants et Contes des Baronga*, and M. Alcée Fortier's *Louisiana Folk Tales*. Many stories have been gathered from periodicals, from the *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische Sprachen*, *Melusine*, and the *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, as well as from our own back numbers (e.g. on pp. 286, 289, some of Dr. Elmslie's Nyasa stories)¹ and the defunct *Journal of the South African Folklore Society*. Besides these the compiler has gleaned with the greatest industry from grammars and books of travel, and has brought together in all a hundred and seventy specimens, a fairly representative selection, though I cannot help thinking that in some cases a better choice might have been made. For instance, "*Aqili ya waanawake*," the only story quoted from Dr. Velten's Swahili collection, is much more Arab than African in character. It is true that only a few of the stories given by Dr. Velten are really indigenous, but most of them have assimilated more of the local colouring than the one in question, which strikes a note alien to the general tone of Bantu folklore. The nature of this compilation, for obvious reasons, precludes any very detailed review; but one or two minor errors of classification may be pointed out. The stories from the Rev. Duff Macdonald's *Africana* (pp. 292, 294) are not "Zumbo" (which, by-the-bye, is a place and not, so far as we are aware, a language) but Yao, and should, of course, have been placed along with P. Ferstl's under the latter heading. Nyasa (p. 286) and Chinyanja (p. 296) are the same language. The book will be found exceedingly interesting as an introduction to the subject of African folklore, and is moreover useful as a map or guide to the materials accessible in several European languages.

A. WERNER.

¹ *Folk-Lore*, vol. iii., p. 92.

FOLK-DRAMAS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE.

LES PASTORALES BASQUES. Notice, Catalogue des Manuscrits et Questionnaire. Par G. HÉRELLE. Bayonne, 1903, in 8° de p. 86.

1. VENDETTA, RACCONTO CAMPAGNOLO SICILIANO. By G. CRIMI LO GIUDICE. Aci Reale, Tipografia Umberto I., 1903. 3° pp.
2. MAGHERIA, O AMORE PER FORZA. Scene Popolari Siciliane in 2 alti. Idem. 48 pp.

THE above catalogue of open-air plays, performed in the French Basque country by amateurs, is prefaced with an interesting account of their general characteristics. About one hundred are named ; one of them only is mentioned as having been printed. They are versified, meant to be sung with a musical accompaniment, the performance lasting all day, sometimes longer. The subjects are varied ; religious and secular, ancient and modern ; truth and fiction, tragedy, comedy, and farce, intermingled with dances. The acting of the tragedies is strikingly conventional and archaic. It is noticeable that the catalogue does not mention nativity plays, the sort called *Pastorales* elsewhere in France, and performed in the winter on the Riviera about Christmas time. The *Pastorales Basques* take place in the spring usually, sometimes in the autumn.

This work is announced as preliminary to a more extensive one, presumably a critical study of the contents of the plays. The origin of the older ones will probably be discovered in the interminable mediæval mystery-plays, also founded on a great variety of themes. Many of the Basque pieces bear the same titles as known mystery plays, others are probably fragments. Some of the manuscripts are said by the writers to be translations. The stage directions and the interludes are frequently not in Basque.

These *Pastorales* belong especially now to the valley of La Soule. Its chief town is Mauleon, guarded by the castle of the *Malus Leo*, as some archæologists will have it. Not far distant lies Roncevalles, where the paladin Roland was slain ; the hero's death is commemorated in one of these "trageries."

Of the little Sicilian books, the first is a story, the second a play.

They afford a description of country and village life in Sicily, on the coast between Messina and Palermo.

The subject of *Vendetta* is conjugal infidelity with the tragic end common in the island. Little, if any, folklore comes into the story.

Magheria, the play, abounds in it, as the title suggests. The heroine is compelled to fall in love with her suitor by a process of sympathetic magic belonging to a widely spread type. An orange containing some of her hair was bound with a cord, then dipped in virgin wax and smeared with the fat of a black hen. A pin having been driven into it, the orange was thrown down a well. The spell given in the story was recited during the rite. The victim is supposed to fall ill and to remain so until she yields, the fruit keeping sound until then. According to rule a counter-spell should rot the orange and save the girl. In this case the girl does actually fall ill and accepts her suitor, but as she had previously heard of what had been done against her, and may have fallen ill through fright, it seems probable that the author intended to ridicule the superstition. The priest condones it because of the motive. This sort of charm is used elsewhere, as at Mentone, simply for revenge, with the variation that the fruit is meant to and does rot, thus causing the victim's illness. Love is usually, and more appropriately, won by philters.

Much other folklore is to be found in this little drama : spitting as a protection from witches ; the broom reversed at the door to prevent their entering the house ; crossing oneself with the left hand against the devil's power, the right hand being kept sacred to God ; ingratiating the devil by keeping his Lent, that is, by committing a mortal sin on each of forty successive days.

What with vendetta, magic, and *maffia*, religion must suffer in Trinacria.

In a preface to *Magheria* Signor Pitré, the distinguished Sicilian traditionist, vouches for the author's knowledge of the people. He lays stress on the spoken spell as an essential part of conjurations.

J. B. ANDREWS.

Folk=Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XV.]

JUNE, 1904.

[No. II.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17th, 1904.

Mr. E. W. Brabrook (VICE-PRESIDENT) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the Meeting held in December were read and confirmed.

The election of Mrs. H. D. Ellis and the Helsingfors University Library as Members of the Society was announced. The death of Mr. W. Jones and the resignation of Mr. J. E. A. Gwynne were also announced.

The Secretary exhibited a toothache charm from Pembrokeshire sent by Mr. W. T. Merrick [p. 197]. The charm, upon which Dr. Gaster offered some observations, consisted of the words "Peter sat on a stone," with some hieroglyphics.

Miss Burne read a paper by Miss Wherry entitled "Wizardry on the Welsh Border" [p. 75].

Mr. Gomme read a paper entitled "The Place of Tradition in Historical Evidence," and a discussion followed, in which Mr. Hartland and Dr. Gaster took part.

The Meeting concluded with a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Wherry and Mr. Gomme for their papers.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH, 16th, 1904.

Mr. E. W. Brabrook (VICE-PRESIDENT) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The death of Mr. C. H. Moore was announced.

The election of the following new members was also announced, viz.: Université de Nancy, Mercantile Library of St. Louis, Mr. A. T. Crawford Cree, the Rev. J. G. Bailey, D.D., the Rev. J. R. Olorenshaw, and Mr. T. Gilbert.

The following objects were exhibited, viz.: a crystal ball in silver bands said to have been picked up on the shore of Harris by a pedlar, and purchased from him by Captain MacRae of the Black Watch; a photograph of a Rushlight Stand and Fire-screen at the Hough, Eccleshall, Staffs., sent by Mr. W. Wells Bladen, and another of a Norwegian Stabbur, or Cheese-house, at Telemarken, said to be the oldest specimen of Runic carving in South Norway, sent by the Hon. Mrs. Sinclair. Miss Edith Cobham also exhibited (1) some Kentish pudding pies, (2) a gingerbread pig from St. Cloud, and (3) some old pictures representing (i) an offering before Captain Cook in the Sandwich Islands, (ii) the funeral pile of a husband in Hindostan, and (iii) a dance in Otaheite.

Mr. R. R. Marett read a paper entitled "The Development of the Prayer out of the Spell" [p. 132], and, in the discussion which followed, Professor Westermarck, Mr. A. Nutt, Mr. N. W. Thomas, and the Chairman took part. The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Marett for his paper.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20th, 1904.

Mr. E. S. Hartland (VICE-PRESIDENT) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new Members was announced, viz.: Mr. A. C. Dawson, the Rev. E. Magri, the Los Angelos (California) Public Library, and the Field Columbian Museum (Chicago).

The Secretary exhibited some photographs of "Bull Pitchers" from Stamford in Lincolnshire, and read a descriptive paper by Miss Peacock, upon which Mr. Tabor, Dr. Gaster, and Mr. N. W. Thomas offered some observations [p. 199].

Dr. W. H. R. Rivers read a paper on "Toda Prayer," and, in the discussion which followed, Mr. Kirby, Dr. Gaster, and the Chairman took part [p. 166].

The Meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Miss Peacock and Dr. Rivers for their papers.

The following books and pamphlets which had been presented to the Society since the Meeting held on the 16th December, 1903, were laid upon the table, viz.:

Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, No. xliv., and *Twelve Windows in the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral*, by M. R. James, by exchange; *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, vol. iii., parts 1 and 2; *The Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 16, No. 63, presented by the American Folklore Society; *Moghdija Taz-Zmien*, Nos. 15, 18, and 29; *Hrejjef Missicrijctna and Danc li Ghamlu il gid fid-dinja*, by the Rev. E. Magri, S.J., presented by the author; *Report of the Government Museum and Connemara Public Library*, 1902-03, presented by the Government of Madras; *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, part vii., *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 22, part 4, presented by the Bollandiste Society.

FROM SPELL TO PRAYER.

BY R. R. MARETT, M.A.

(Read at Meeting, 16th March, 1904.)

THIS paper represents the fruit of some rather perfunctory, if only because interrupted, meditation on the broader and, so to speak, more philosophic features of the contrast drawn between magic and religion by Dr. Frazer in the second edition of his *Golden Bough*. Meanwhile, it is more immediately written round the subject of the relation of incantation to invocation, the spell to the prayer. I confess to having reached my conclusions by ways that are largely *a priori*. By this I do not mean, of course, that I have excogitated them out of my inner consciousness, as the Teutonic professor in the story is said to have excogitated the camel. I simply mean that the preliminary induction on which my hypothesis is based consists partly in considerations pertaining to the universal psychology of man, and partly in general impressions derived from a limited amount of discursive reading about savages. The verification of my theory, on the other hand, by means of a detailed comparison of its results with the relevant evidence is a task beyond my present means. As for my illustrations, these have been hastily gathered from a few standard books and papers, and most of all, I think, from that house of heaped-up treasure, the *Golden Bough* itself. In these circumstances my sole excuse for challenging the views of an authority whose knowledge and command of anthropological fact is truly vast, must be that in the present inchoate state of the science there can be no closed questions, nor even any reserved ones—no mysteries over which expert may claim the right to take counsel with expert, secure from the

incursions of the irresponsible amateur. I would add that what I have to say is not intended in any way to abrogate Dr. Frazer's contrast between magic and religion. On the contrary, I consider it to embody a working distinction of first-rate importance. I merely wish to mitigate this contrast by proposing what, in effect, amounts to a separation in lieu of a divorce. A working principle, if it is to work, must not be pushed too hard.

The question, then, that I propose to discuss is the following: Does the spell help to generate the prayer, and, if so, how? Now the spell belongs to magic, and the prayer to religion. Hence we are attacking, in specific shape, no less a problem than this: Does magic help to generate religion?

Perhaps it will make for clearness of exposition if I outline the reply I would offer in what follows to this latter question. First, I suppose certain beliefs, of a kind natural to the infancy of thought, to be accepted at face value in a spirit of naive faith, whilst being in fact illusory. The practice corresponding to such naive belief I call "rudimentary magic." Afterwards I conceive a certain sense of their *prima facie* illusiveness to come to attach to these beliefs, without, however, managing to invalidate them. This I call the stage of "developed magic." Such magic, as embodying a reality that to some extent transcends appearance, becomes to a corresponding extent a mystery. As such, on my view, it tends to fall within the sphere of religion. For I define the object of religion to be whatever is perceived as a mystery and treated accordingly. (Dr. Frazer, however, defines religion differently, and this must be borne in mind in estimating the pertinence of such criticisms as I may pass on his interpretations of the facts.)

Let us now turn to the *Golden Bough* to see what light it throws on this same problem, viz. whether magic is a factor in the genesis of religion. If I understand Dr. Frazer aright—and of this I am by no means sure—his position

comes to this. Magic is a negative, but not a positive, condition of the genesis of religion. The failure of magic is the opportunity of religion. Hence it may be said to help to generate religion in the sense in which the idle apprentice may be said to help to set up his more industrious rival by allowing him to step into his shoes. But it makes no positive contribution to religion either in the way of form or of content.

More explicitly stated, Dr. Frazer's theory runs somewhat thus. (It is only fair to note that it is a theory which he puts forward "tentatively" and "with diffidence.")¹ Originally, and so long as the highest human culture was at what may be described as an Australian level, magic reigned supreme, and religion was not. But time and trial proved magic to be a broken reed. "Man saw that he had taken for causes what were no causes, and that all his efforts to work by means of these imaginary causes had been vain. His painful toil had been wasted, his curious ingenuity had been squandered to no purpose. He had been pulling at strings to which nothing was attached." Whereupon "our primitive philosopher" (and truly, we may say, did that savage of "deeper mind" and "shrewder intelligence" deserve this title of "philosopher," if he could thus reason, as Dr. Frazer makes him do, about "causes" and the like) advanced, "very slowly," indeed, and "step by step," to the following "solution of his harassing doubts." "If the great world went on its way without the help of him or his fellows, it must surely be because there were other beings, like himself, but far stronger, who, unseen themselves, directed its course and brought about all the varied series of events which he had hitherto believed to be dependent on his own magic."

Now the impression I get from these passages, and from the whole of those twenty pages or so which Dr. Frazer devotes to the subject of the relation of magic to religion

¹ *G. B.*,² i., 73 n., 75.

as such, is that the epic vein decidedly predominates therein. The glowing periods in which the history of "the great transition" is recounted are not easily translated into the cold prose of science. Construed literally they appear liable to not a few serious strictures. For example, pure ratiocination seems to be credited with an effectiveness without a parallel in early culture. Almost as well say that when man found he could not make big enough bags with the throwing-stick, he sat down and excogitated the bow-and-arrow. Or again "unseen beings" seem to be introduced as "mysterious powers" sprung fully-armed from the brain of man, and otherwise without assigned pre-history.² Finally, magic and religion appear to be treated as in their inmost psychologic nature disparate and unsympathetic forces, oil and water, which even when brought into juxtaposition are so far from mixing that the observer has no difficulty in distinguishing what is due to the presence of each.³ One's first impression is that a purely analytic method has escaped its own notice in putting on a pseudo-genetic guise, that mere heads of classification have first been invested with an impermeable essence, and then identified with the phases of a historical development which is thereby robbed of all intrinsic continuity. But on second thoughts one sees, I think, that to construe literally here is to construe illiberally. Dr. Frazer, in order to dispose summarily of an interminable question, may be supposed to have resorted to a kind of Platonic myth. A certain priority and a certain absoluteness within its own province had to be vindicated for magic as against religion, if the special problem of the *Golden Bough* was to be kept free of irrelevancies. This vindication the myth contrives, and the rest is, so to speak, literature. For the rest, in Dr. Frazer's promised work on the early history of religion, he doubtless intends to fill in what are manifest gaps in the present argument. Meanwhile, as

² *G. B.*,² i., 78.

³ Cf. *G. B.*,² i., 33, 45, &c.

regards the inquiry we are now embarked on, we may say that, so far as he goes, Dr. Frazer is against the view that magic is capable of merging in religion so as to become part and parcel of it, but that he does not go very far into the question, and leaves it more or less open to further discussion. Wherefore to its further discussion let us proceed.

Now in the first place it would clearly simplify our task if we could find sufficient reason for assuming that, whatever it may afterwards have become, magic was originally something wholly unrelated to religion, that, in short, it was originally *sui generis*. I may point out that this is by no means the same thing as to postulate, with Dr. Frazer, an "Age of Magic," when religion simply was not.⁴ Our assumption would not exclude the possibility of some sort of religion having been coeval with magic. Which, let me add, might have been the case, even were it shown that magic can generate religion of a kind. For religion has all the appearance of being a highly complex and multifarious growth—a forest rather than a tree.

That magic was originally *sui generis* might seem a doctrine that hardly calls for establishment, so universally is it accepted by anthropologists. Its peculiar *provenance* is held to be completely known. Thus Dr. Frazer tells us that magic may be "deduced immediately from elementary processes of reasoning," meaning the laws of association, or, specifically, the laws of association by similarity and by contiguity in space or time.⁵

Now it seems to me that, once more, these statements need to be construed liberally. The psychological purist might justly doubt whether Dr. Frazer is literally able to deduce magic immediately from the laws of association. He would, at any rate, deny Dr. Frazer's right to describe the laws of association as "processes of reasoning" or "laws of thought" in any strict sense of these terms.⁶ A

⁴ See *G. B.*,² i., 73. ⁵ *G. B.*,² i., 70. Cf. 62. ⁶ *G. B.*,² i., 70 and 62.

generation ago, no doubt, when the self-styled school of "experience" dominated British psychology, these expressions would have passed muster. In which context it is perhaps relevant to remark that Dr. Frazer's theory of the associationalist origin of magic would seem to have been influenced by that of Dr. Jevons, and that of Dr. Jevons in its turn by that of Dr. Tylor, which was framed more than thirty years ago, and naturally reflects the current state of psychological opinion. To-day, however, no psychologist worth seriously considering holds that association taken strictly for just what it is suffices to explain anything that deserves the name of reasoning or thought, much less any form of practical contrivance based on reasoning or thought. First of all, association is no self-acting "mental chemistry," but depends on continuity of interest. Secondly, thought, that is, thought-construction, instead of merely reproducing the old, transforms it into something new. The psychological purist, then, might justly find fault with Dr. Frazer's remarks as lacking in technical accuracy, were technical accuracy to be looked for in a passage that, to judge from its style, is semi-popular in its purport. Even so, however, this loose language is to be regretted. Seeing that an all-sufficient associationalism has for sound reason been banished from psychology, the retention of its peculiar phraseology is to be deprecated as liable to suggest that anthropology is harbouring an impostor on the strength of obsolete credentials.

A word more touching the want of precision in Dr. Frazer's language. As in his account of the interior history of the genesis of religion, so in his characterisation of the inner nature of magic he seems to exaggerate the work of pure ratiocination. Thus he speaks of magic as a "philosophy" consisting in "principles" from which the savage "infers" and "concludes" this and that;⁷ magic

⁷ *G. B.*,² i., 9.

"proceeds upon" such and such "assumptions"; and so on.⁸ Now on the face of them these appear to be glaring instances of what is known as "the psychologist's fallacy." The standpoint of the observer seems to be confused with the standpoint of the mind under observation. But there are indications that Dr. Frazer expects us to make the necessary allowance for his metaphorical diction. Thus one of the "assumptions" of magic is said to consist in a "faith" that whilst "real and firm" is nevertheless "implicit."⁹ Meanwhile, from the point of view of the psychological purist, implicit, that is, unconscious, inferences, assumptions, and so on, are little better than hybrids. Now doubtless a considerable amount of real inference may be operative at certain stages in the development of magic. Nay, certain forms of magic may even be found to have originated in a theorising about causes that did not arise out of practice save indirectly, and was the immediate fruit of reflection. I refer more especially to divination, if divination is to be classed under magic, as Dr. Tylor thinks that it should.¹⁰ But, speaking generally, the working principle we had better adopt as inquirers into the origin of magic is, I suggest, the following: to expect the theory to grow out of the practice, rather than the other way about; to try to start from a savage Monsieur Jourdain who talks prose whilst yet unaware that he is doing so.

In what follows I shall seek to observe this working principle. Meanwhile, I cannot pretend to a systematic and all-inclusive treatment of a subject which, for me, I confess, has at present no well-marked limits. Dr. Frazer's division of magic into two kinds, imitative and sympathetic,¹¹ is highly convenient for analysis, but I am not so sure that it directly subserves genesis. Not to speak of the question already touched on whether divination falls under magic,

⁸ *G. B.*,² 49.

⁹ *G. B.*,² Cf. 62 with 61.

¹⁰ See his article "Magic" in *Encycl. Brit.* (ninth edit.)

¹¹ *G. B.*,² i., 9.

there are other practices quasi-magical in form, for instance the familiar sucking-cure, which cannot be easily reduced to cases either of imitative or sympathetic magic, and which nevertheless, I believe, are of connate psychological origin with practices of one or other of the last-mentioned types. In these circumstances my attempt at a derivation of magic must be taken in the spirit in which it is offered—namely as illustrative merely. I shall keep as closely as I can to undisputed forms of magical practice, for instance the casting of spells by means of an image, in the hope that their development moves along the central line of historical advance.

To start, then, as Dr. Frazer seems to suggest that we might,¹² from the brutes. When a bull is in a rage—and let us note that the rage as determining the direction of interest has a good deal to do with the matter¹³—it will gore my discarded coat instead of me, provided that the coat is sufficiently near, and I am sufficiently remote, for the proximate stimulus to dominate its attention. Of course it is very hard to say what really goes on in the bull's mind. Possibly there is little or no meaning in speaking of association as contributory to its act, as would be the case supposing it be simply the sight of something immediately gorable that lets loose the discharge of wrath. On the other hand, suppose it to perceive in the coat the slightest hint or flavour of the intruding presence of a moment before, suppose it to be moved by the least after-taste of the sensations provoked by my red tie or rapidly retreating form, and we might justly credit association with a hand in the matter. And now to pass from the case of the animal to that of man, in regard to whom a certain measure of sympathetic insight becomes possible. With a fury that well-nigh matches the bull's in its narrowing

¹² Cf. *G. B.*,² i., 70.

¹³ Cf. Stout, *Groundwork of Psychology*, Section on "Emotion as determining ideal revival," p. 120.

effect on the consciousness, the lover, who yesterday perhaps was kissing the treasured glove of his mistress, to-day, being jilted, casts her portrait on the fire. Here let us note two things. Firstly, the mental digression, the fact that he is for the nonce so "blind," as we say, with love or rancour, that the glove or the portrait has by association become substituted for the original object of his sentiments, namely his mistress. Secondly, the completeness of the digression. This dear glove fit only to be kissed, this hateful portrait fit only to be burnt, occupies his whole attention, and is therefore equivalent to an irresistible belief that realises itself as inevitably as a suggestion does in the case of the hypnotic patient. Such at least is the current psychological explanation of the phenomenon known as "primitive credulity."

Now can the man who throws the faithless maiden's portrait into the fire, simply because the sight of it irresistibly provokes him to do so, be said to be practising magic? I think, hardly. Since, however, it is better that the class-concepts of anthropology should be framed too wide rather than too narrow, let us speak of a "rudimentary magic," of which the act of primitive credulity is the psychological *terminus a quo*. I contrast such "rudimentary magic" with the "developed magic" whereof the spirit is expressed in the formula: As I do this symbolically, so may something else like it be done in reality. In the former naive belief prevails, in the latter a make-believe. In what immediately follows we shall be concerned with the psychological history of the transition from the rudimentary to the developed form.

The feature which it is most important for our purpose to note in the act of primitive credulity is that, to coin a phrase, it is not projective. This is well illustrated by the case of the bull. The bull does not gore my coat with any ulterior motive prejudicial to me. On the contrary, it contentedly gores the coat, and, unless I am unfortunate enough

to recall the bull's attention to myself, I escape. Thus there is none of that projectiveness to be ascribed to the bull's motive which so characteristically enters into the motive of the act of developed magic. We may be sure that the bull does not conceive (*a*) that he is acting symbolically, that, in child-language, he is "only pretending"; (*b*) that at the same time his pretending somehow causes an ulterior effect, similar as regards its ideal character, but different in that it constitutes that real thing which is the ultimate object of the whole proceeding.

And now let us go on to consider how such primitive credulity is sundered from the beginnings of enlightenment—if to practise projective magic is to be enlightened—only by the veriest hair's-breadth. The moment the bull's rage has died out of him, the coat he was goring becomes that uninteresting thing a coat must be to the normal animal whose interest is solely in the edible. Now the bull, being a bull, probably passes from the one perceptual context to the other, from coat gorables to coat inedible, without any feeling of the relation between them; they are simply not one coat for him at all, but two. But now put in the bull's place a more or less brute-like man, with just that extra dash of continuity in his mental life that is needed in order that the two coats—the two successive phases of consciousness—may be compared. How will they be compared? We may be sure that the comparison will be, so to speak, in favour of the more normal and abiding experience of the two. If it be more normal to ignore the coat than to gore it, there will arise a certain sense—you may make it as dim as you will to begin with, but once it is there at all it marks a step in advance of primitive credulity—of the gorables aspect of the coat as relatively delusive and unreal, of the act of passion as relatively misdirected and idle.

Meanwhile, notwithstanding this new-found capacity to recognise later on that he has been deluded, rage will continue to delude the subject so long as its grip upon him

lasts. Nay more, directly there is a nascent self-consciousness, a sort of detached personality to act as passive spectator, the deluding passion may be actually accompanied by an awareness of being given over to unreal imaginings and vain doings. Doubtless your relatively low savage might say with Kipling's philosopher of the barrack-room :

[I've] stood beside an' watched myself
Be'avin' like a blooming fool.

Make-believe, however, such as we meet with in developed magic, involves something more than mere concurrent awareness that one is being fooled by one's passion. It involves positive acquiescence in such a condition of mind. The subject is not completely mastered by the suggestion, as in the act of primitive credulity. On the contrary, he more or less clearly perceives it to be fanciful, and yet dallies with it and lets it work upon him. Now why should he do this? Well, originally, I suspect, because he feels that it does him good. Presumably, to work off one's wrath on any apology for an enemy is expletive, that is, cathartic. He knows that he is not doing the real thing, but he finds it does him good to believe he is doing it, and so he makes himself believe it. Symbol and ulterior reality have fallen apart in his thought, but his "will to believe" builds a bridge from the one to the other. Symbolic act and ulterior act symbolised are, we must remember, connected by an ideal bond, in that they are more or less alike, have a character partially identical which so far as it is identical is provocative of one and the same type of reaction. All that is required for the symbolic act to acquire projectiveness is that this ideal bond be conceived as a real bond. Since, however, the appearance of mere ideality can *ex hypothesi* be no longer ignored, it must instead be explained away. Primitive credulity no longer suffices. In the place of a naive and effortless faith there is needed the kind of faith that, to whatever extent it is assailed by doubt, can recover itself by self-justification.

The methods of such self-justification as practised by the primitive mind, become aware that it is pretending, yet loth to abandon a practice rooted in impulse and capable of affording relief to surcharged emotion, are well worth the attention of the anthropologist. The subject tends to be ignored in proportion as association pure and simple is regarded as be-all and end-all of the "art magic." Now we need not suppose that because the primitive mind is able to explain away its doubts, there is therefore necessarily any solid and objective truth at the back of its explanations. Given sufficient bias in favour of a theory, the human mind, primitive or even civilised, by unconsciously picking its facts and by the various other familiar ways of fallacy, can bring itself to believe almost any kind of nonsense. At the same time there does happen to be an objectively true and real projectiveness in the kind of symbolic magic we have been especially considering—the discharge of wrath on the image or what not. We know that as a fact to be symbolically tortured and destroyed by his enemy "gets on the nerves" of the savage, so that he is apt really to feel torturing pains and die.¹⁴ The psychology of the matter is up to a certain point simple enough, the principles involved being indeed more or less identical with those we have already had occasion to consider. Just as the savage is a good actor, throwing himself like a child into his mime, so he is a good spectator, entering into the spirit of another's acting, herein again resembling the child, who can be frightened into fits by the roar of what he knows to be but a "pretended" lion. Even if the make-believe is more or less make-believe to the victim, it is hardly the less efficacious; for, dominating as it tends to do the field of attention, it racks the emotional system, and, taking advantage of the relative abeyance of intelligent thought and will, sets stirring all manner of deep-lying impulses and automatisms. Well, this being objectively the fact, are we to allow that

¹⁴ See e.g. *G. B.*,² i., 13.

the savage magician and his victim may become aware of the fact? I think we must. Of course the true reasons of the fact, namely that suggestion is at work, and so on, are beyond the ken of primitive man. But I submit that the projectiveness of the magical act is grounded, not merely on a subjective bias that "fakes" its facts, but on one that is met half-way, so to speak, by the real facts themselves. I would even suppose that the kind of magic practised by man on man, since it lent itself especially to objective verification, may very well have been the earliest kind of developed magic—the earliest kind to pass beyond the stage of impulse to that of more or less conscious and self-justifying policy. Were this the case, one would have to assume that the savage extended his sphere of operations by some dim sort of analogous reasoning. If, despite appearances to the contrary, magic really answered in the case of man, it would really answer in the case of the weather and so on, to vent one's spleen on the weather being, meanwhile, as a naive impulsive act, hardly, if at all, less natural than to do so in the case of one's human foe.¹⁵ Thus I surmise that the proved effectiveness of the social department of developed magic gave the greater share of such logical support as was required to the meteorological and other branches of the business.

It is high time that we address ourselves to the more immediate subject of our interest, the spell, the nature of which, however, could not fail to be misunderstood so long as the magical act was vaguely conceived on its psychological side, that is, the side of its true inwardness, the side to which it is the supreme business even of an anthropology that prides itself on its "objective methods" to attend. To begin, then, at the beginning, why should there be an accompanying spell at all? Is it, in fact, an indispensable part of the true magical ceremony? Now it is true that

¹⁵ Cf. G. B.,² i., 108-9.

not infrequently the absence of any incantation from a piece of magical ritual as at any rate performed to-day is expressly noted. To give but one example. Among the Khonds of Orissa a branch cut by a priest in the enemy's country is dressed up and armed so as to personate one of the foe. Thereupon it is thrown down at the shrine of the war god, but this "appeal" to him for co-operation is, we are expressly told, "silent,"¹⁶ and that notwithstanding the semi-religious character which the magical rite has put on. On the other hand, the use of the spell as an accompaniment or rather integral portion of the magical performance is so prevalent, that I am inclined, merely on the strength of the historical evidence, to regard its presence as normal in the perfect and uncontaminated ceremony. This supposition would, however, be immensely strengthened if we could discover good psychological reason why the spell ought to be there.

I preferred a moment ago to speak of the spell as an integral portion, rather than as the mere accompaniment, of the magical rite, since it is rather with developed than with rudimentary magic that we shall be concerned when in the sequel we consider actual specimens of the kind of spell in use. Corresponding to the act of primitive credulity there may be, I conceive, a kind of spell, if spell it can be called, which is no more than a mere accompaniment. Such a verbal accompaniment will either be purely expletive, or it may be what I shall call "descriptive," as when a child making a picture of a man says aloud to himself, "I am making a man"; that is, supposing him to be merely playing spectator to himself, and not to be assisting himself to imagine that what he draws is a man. Such descriptive accompaniments would of course tend to pass, unaltered in form, into instruments of make-believe as soon as the make-believe stage of magic begins. Nevertheless, the whole psychological character of the spell is from that

¹⁶ *J. A. I.*, ix. 362.

moment changed. It henceforth forms an integral part of the rite, since it helps the action out.

What do I mean by "helping the action out"? Let us recur to the notion of developed magic as a more or less clearly recognised pretending, which at the same time is believed to project itself into an ulterior effect. Now I cannot but suppose that such projectiveness is bound to strike the savage as mysterious. "But no," says Dr. Frazer; "magic is the savage equivalent of our natural science." This I cannot but profoundly doubt. If it is advisable to use the word "science" at all in such a context, I should say that magic was *occult* science to the savage, "occult" standing here for the very antithesis of "natural." Dr. Frazer proceeds to work out his parallel by formulating the assumption he holds to be common to magic and natural science. Both alike imply "that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency"; or again, "that the course of nature is determined, not by the passions or caprice of personal beings, but by the operation of immutable laws acting mechanically."¹⁷ But the "necessity," the "law," implicit in developed magic as revealed by the corresponding type of spell, namely the type of spell which helps the action out, is surely something utterly distinct in kind from what natural science postulates under these same notoriously ambiguous names. It is not the "is and cannot but be" of a satisfied induction. On the contrary, it is something that has but the remotest psychological affinity therewith, namely such a "must" as is involved in "May so and so happen," or "I do this in order that so and so may happen." Such a "must" belongs to magic in virtue of the premonitory projectiveness that reveals itself in the operator's act of imperative willing. Meanwhile so far as the process fails to explain

¹⁷ *G. R.*,² i., 61, 3. In iii., 459, however, the view that magic and science have any real presupposition in common seems virtually to be given up.

itself in this way—and it must always, I contend, be felt as something other than a normal and ordinary act of imperative willing—it will inevitably be felt to be occult, super-normal, supernatural, and will participate in, whilst *pro tanto* colouring, whatever happens to be the general mode of accounting for supernaturalistic events. But this, I take it, will always tend to be some theory of quasi-personal agency.

Dr. Frazer, however, is so far from allowing this that he makes the implicit presupposition to be the very opposite of the notion of personal agency, namely the idea of mechanical causation. He does not, however, attempt to go into the psychology of the matter, and the psychological probabilities, I submit, will be found to tell dead against this view of his. Mechanical causation is indeed by no means unknown to the savage. From the moment he employs such mechanical aids as tools he may be supposed to perceive that the work he does with them proceeds as it were directly and immediately from them. He throws a spear at his enemy ; it hits him ; and the man drops. That the spear makes the man drop he can see. But when a wizard brandishes a magic spear simply in the direction of a distant, perhaps absent and invisible, person, who thereafter dies, the wizard—not to speak of the bystanders—is almost bound to notice something in the action of the symbolic weapon that is indirect, and as such calls aloud for explanation on non-mechanical lines. The spear did not do it of itself, but some occult power, whether in, or behind, the spear. Further, his own consciousness cannot fail to give him an intuitive inkling of what this power is, namely, his projection of will, a psychic force, a manifestation of personal agency, *mana*. It is a secondary consideration whether he locate the personal agency, the “devil,” in the spear, in himself, or in some *tertium quid* that possesses it or him. In any case the power is represented quasi-personally. I am quite prepared to believe

with Mr. Lang that gods tend at first to be conceived as exercising their power precisely as a magician does.¹⁸ But it does not therefore follow, as it must if Dr. Frazer's theory of magical as mechanical causation be accepted, that in some sense the early gods came down to men "from out of a machine."

We have been hitherto considering the magical act from the point of view of the operator. Let us now inquire what sort of character is imposed by it on the other party to the transaction, namely the victim. If our previous hypothesis be correct, that to the operator the magical act is generically a projection of imperative will, and specifically one that moves on a supernormal plane, it follows that the position of the victim will be, in a word, a position compatible with *rapport*. As the operator is master of a supernormal "must," so the victim is the slave of that same "must." Now surely there is nothing in such a position on the part of the victim that is incompatible with the possession of what we know as will. On the contrary, might we not expect that the operator, as soon as he comes to reflect on the matter at all, would think of his power as somehow making itself felt by his victim, as somehow coming home to him, as somehow reaching the unwilling will of the man and bending it to an enforced assent? On this theory a magical transaction ought, hardly if at all less naturally than a religious transaction, to assume the garb of an affair between persons. We shall see presently whether there is evidence that it actually does. On Dr. Frazer's view, however, magic and religion are systems based on assumptions that are as distinct and wide apart as matter and mind, their ultimate implications. Hence if magic and religion join forces, it is for Dr. Frazer a mere contamination of unrelated originals incapable of presenting the inward unity of a single self-developing plot. He is driven to allege a "confusion of ideas," a "mixture," a "fusion," an

¹⁸ *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, i., 120.

"amalgamation," such as can take place only under the pressure of some extrinsic influence.¹⁹ For a satisfactory clue, however, to the nature of the collocating cause we search his writings in vain.

Meanwhile, Dr. Frazer seems to admit the thin end of the wedge into his case for a mechanically-causative magic by allowing that the material on which it works is composed not merely of "things which are regarded as inanimate," but likewise of "persons whose behaviour in the particular circumstances is known to be determined with absolute certainty."²⁰ Now of course magic may be conceived as taking effect on a person through his body, as when that which is projected takes the form of an *atnongara* stone, viz. a piece of crystal, or of something half-material, half-personal, like the *arungquiltha* of the Arunta, or the *badi* of the Malays.²¹ After all, magic in one of its most prominent aspects is a disease-making. But Dr. Frazer's interest is not in these secondary notions. He is seeking to elucidate the ultimate implication of magic when he explains "determined with absolute certainty" to mean—determined, as is "the course of nature," "by the operation of immutable laws acting mechanically."²² But a person conceived as simply equivalent to an inanimate thing—for that is precisely what it comes to—is a fundamentally different matter, I contend, from the notion I take to be, not implicit, but nascently explicit,²³ here, namely that of a will constrained. No doubt the modern doctrine of a psychological automatism virtually forbids us to speak any longer of "will" in such a connection. To naive thought, however, as witness the more popular explanations of the phenomena of suggestion current in our own time, the natural correlative to

¹⁹ *G. B.*,² i., 67, 69.

²⁰ See *G. B.*,² i., 63, where this is clearly implied.

²¹ Cf. Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 531 and 537. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 427.

²² *G. B.*,² i., 63.

²³ Compare the effect on the woman ascribed to the *lonka-lonka*, below, p. 1.

exercise of will on the part of the operator will surely be submission, *i.e.* of will, as we should say, on the part of the patient. For the rest, it would seem that Dr. Frazer bases his case for it being a kind of physical necessity that is ascribed by the savage to the workings of his magic on the explanation which the medicine-man gives of his failures, when he alleges that nothing but the interference of another more potent sorcerer could have robbed his spell of its efficacy.²⁴ But the excuse appears to imply, if anything, a conditionality and relativity of will-power, of *mana*, the analogy of the scientific law being manifestly far-fetched. And surely it is in any case somewhat rash to deduce the implicit assumptions of an art from such a mere piece of professional "bluff."

If, then, the occult projectiveness of the magical act is naturally and almost inevitably interpreted as an exertion of will that somehow finds its way to another will and dominates it, the spell or uttered "must" will tend, I conceive, to embody the very life and soul of the affair. Nothing initiates an imperative more cleanly, cutting it away from the formative matrix of thought and launching it on its free career, than the spoken word. Nothing, again, finds its way home to another's mind more sharply. It is the very type of a spiritual projectile. I do not, indeed, believe that what may be called the silent operations of imitative magic are ultimately sign-language and nothing more. I prefer to think, as I have already explained, that they are originally like the fire drawn from an excitable soldier by the tree-stump he mistakes for an enemy, or, more precisely, miscarriages of passion-clouded purpose prematurely caused by a chance association; and that what might be called their prefigurative function is an outgrowth. But I certainly do incline to think that, when the stage of developed magic is reached and the projec-

²⁴ *G. B.*,² i., 61. See, however, *Sþ. and G.*, 532, from which it appears that the medicine-man by no means sticks to a single form of excuse.

tiveness of the mimic act is established as a fact, a fact however, that as mysterious, occult, calls aloud for interpretation, the projective character of the silent part of the magical ritual will come to underlie its whole meaning; and further, that the spell, as being the crispest embodiment of the "must" as spring and soul of the projection, will naturally provide the general explanatory notion under which the rest will be brought, namely that of an imperative utterance.

Let us now consider typical specimens of the various kinds of spell in common use, partly in order to test and substantiate the foregoing contentions, but more especially so that haply we may observe the spell pass by easy gradations into the prayer, the imperative into the optative. To begin with, I would suggest that at the stage of developed magic the most perfect spell is one of the following form—a form so widely distributed and easily recognised that a single example will suffice to characterise it. In ancient Peru, when a war expedition was contemplated, they were wont to starve certain black sheep for some days and then slay them, uttering the incantation²⁵: "As the hearts of these beasts are weakened, so let our enemies be weakened." Precisely the same type is found all over the world, from Central Australia to Scotland.²⁶ I call this form perfect, because it takes equal notice of present symbolisation and ulterior realisation, instrument and end. Here the instrument is the weakening of the beasts, the end the weakening of the enemy. Let us not, however, overlook the explicitly stated link between the two, the unifying soul of the process, namely the imperative "let them be weakened." It is apt to escape one's attention because the operator, instead of obtruding his personality upon us, concentrates like a good workman on his instrument, which might therefore at the first glance be credited with the origination of

²⁵ *Acosta*, ii., 342.

²⁶ Cf. *Sp. and G.*, 536, and *G. B.*,² i., 17.

the force it but transmits. Not unfrequently, however, the personal agency of the operator appears on the surface of the spell, as when sunshine is made in New Caledonia by kindling a fire and saying: "Sun! I do this that you may be burning hot."²⁷ Here the sun is treated as a "you," so that the operator is perhaps not unnaturally led to refer to himself as the other party to this transaction between persons. Meanwhile, though our second instance is interesting as indicating the true source of the *mana* immanent in the spell, namely the operator's exertion of will-power, it is better not to insist too strongly on the difference between the instrument and the force that wields and as it were fills it. Both alike belong to what may be called the protasis of the spell. The important logical cleavage occurs between protasis and apodosis—the firing of the projectile and the hitting of the target—the setting-in-motion of the instrument and the realisation of the end. Every true spell, I submit, distinguishes implicitly or explicitly between the two. I say implicitly or explicitly, for we find curtailed spells of the kind "We carry Death into the water," no mention being made of the symbol.²⁸ It would be quite wrong, however, to argue that here is no make-believe, no disjoining of instrument and end requiring an exertion of occult influence to bridge the gap, but a primitive credulity that simply takes the one act for the other. This is shown by the occurrence of the same sort of spell in fuller form, e.g. "Ha, Korē, we fling you into the river, like these torches, that you may return no more."²⁹ The participants in the rite know, in short, that they are "only pretending." They have the thought which it is left to Mr. Skeat's Malays to express with perfect clearness: "It is not wax that I am scorching, it is the liver, heart, and spleen of So-and-so that I scorch."³⁰

²⁷ Cf. *G. B.*,² i., 116.

²⁸ Cf. *G. B.*,² ii., 83.

²⁹ Cf. *G. B.*,² ii., 108.

³⁰ *M.M.*, 570.

This relative disjunction, then, of instrument and end, protasis and apodosis, being taken as characteristic of the spell of developed magic, let us proceed to inquire how each in turn is in general character fitted to promote the development of the prayer out of the spell (assuming this to be possible at all). First, then, let us consider whether magic contributes anything of its own to religion when we approach the subject from the side of what has been called the instrument. Under this head we have agreed to take account both of the projective act and of the projectile—in other words, both of the putting forth of the “must” and of the symbol in which the “must” is embodied.

Now the projective act, I have tried to show, whilst felt by the operator as essentially a kind of imperative willing, is yet concurrently perceived by him to be no ordinary and normal kind of imperative willing. Inasmuch as the merely symbolised and pretended reproduces itself in an ulterior and separate shape as solid fact, the process is manifestly occult or supernormal.³¹ Now I have elsewhere tried to show probable reason why the prime condition of the historical genesis of religion should be sought in the awe caused in man's mind by the perception of the supernatural, that is, supernormal, as it occurs within him and about him. For the purposes of the anthropologist I would have the limits of primitive religion coincide with those of primitive “supernaturalism.” To adopt a happy phrase coined by Mr. Hartland when noticing my view, the supernatural is the original “theoplasm, god-stuff.”³² Is, then, the occult or supernatural as revealed in magic at first the one and only form of supernatural manifestation known to man? Emphatically I say, No. To take but one, and that perhaps the most obvious, example of an object of supernaturalistic awe that anthropology must be content to treat as primary

³¹ *Folk-Lore*, xi., 162, f.

³² *Folk-Lore*, xii., 27.

and *sui generis*, the mystery of human death may be set over against the miracle of the magical projection as at least as original and unique a rallying-point of superstition. On the other hand, I am quite prepared to believe that magical occultism was able of its own right to colour primitive supernaturalism to a marked and noteworthy extent. I suggest that the peculiar contribution of magic—at all events of the kind of magic we have been considering—to religion was the idea of *mana*. No doubt, the actual *mana* of the Melanesians will on analysis be found to yield a very mixed and self-contradictory set of meanings, and to stand for any kind of power that rests in whatever way upon the divine. I suppose it, however, to have the central and nuclear sense of magical power; and, apart from the question of historical fact, let me, for expository purposes at any rate, be allowed to give the term this connotation. The inwardness of such *mana* or magical power we have seen reason to regard as derived by the magician from a more or less intuitive perception of his projective act of will as the force which occultly transmutes his pretence into ulterior reality. But if the essence of his supernormal power lie in precisely this, then wherever else there be discoverable supernormal power under control of a person, will not its essence tend to be conceived as consisting in the same? Meanwhile, all manifestations of the supernatural are likely to appear as in some sense manifestations of power, and as in some sense personally controlled. That they should be noticed at all by man they must come within the range of his practical interests, that is, be as agents or patients in regard to him ; and, if he is in awe of them, it will assuredly be as agents, actual or potential, that is, as powers, that he will represent them to himself. And again, whatever is able to stand up against him as an independent and self-supporting radiator of active powers will be inevitably invested by him with more or less self-hood or personality like in kind to what he is conscious of

in himself. Thus there is no difficulty in explaining psychologically why *mana* should be attributed to those quasi-personal powers of awful nature by which the savage, immersed in half-lights and starting like a child at his own shadow, feels himself on every hand to be surrounded.

Why, then, does Dr. Frazer, whilst admitting that for the magician to seek for *mana* at the hands of ghosts of the dead, stones, snakes, and so on, is characteristic of that "earlier stage" in the history of religion when the antagonism between sorcerer and priest as yet was not, nevertheless treat this as a "confusion of magic and religion," and go on to lay it down that "this fusion is not primitive"? ³³ Is it not simply that he ignores the possibility of the origin of the idea of *mana* itself in the inward experience that goes with the exercise of developed magic? For Dr. Frazer this seeking for supernatural aid on the part of the sorcerer is a "passing into another kind." The sorcerer's exertion of power and the *mana* he craves of his gods have no direct psychological affinity. If, however, our argument has not been all along proceeding on a false track, there is a specific identity of nature common to the force which animates the magical act as such, and that additional force which in certain cases is sought from an external supernatural source. Psychologically speaking, there seems every reason why, granting that the magical act is regarded as occult, and as such falls into line with whatever else is occult and supernatural, its peculiar inwardness as revealed to the operator should be read into whatever else has the *prima facie* appearance of a quasi-personal exertion of supernatural power. After all, we know that, in point of fact, the savage is ready enough to put down whatever effects he cannot rationally account for (*e.g.* disease) to what may be termed sorcery in the abstract. But, once it is established that to feel like and inwardly be a supernatural agent is to feel oneself exerting the will-power of a human

³³ G. B., ²i., 65-6, 69.

magician, then what more natural than that a human magician when in difficulties should seek, by any one of the many modes of entering into relations with the divine to reinforce his own *mana* from the boundless store of self-same *mana* belonging to those magicians of a higher order whom, so to speak, he has created after his own image?

All this, however, I confess, it is easier to deduce than to verify. When we try to study the matter in the concrete, we soon lose our way amongst plural causes and intermixed effects. For instance, it is clear that the savage has inward experience of the supernormal, not only in his feats of projective magic, but likewise in his dreams, his fits of ecstasy, and so on (though these latter seem to have no place within the sphere of magic proper). Or again we have been dealing with the act of magic from the point of view of the operator. But there is also the point of view of the victim, whose suggestibility will, we may suppose, be largely conditioned by the amount of "asthenic" emotion—fear and fascination—induced in him. Hence any sort of association with the supernatural and awful which the sorcerer can establish will be all to the good. An all-round obscurantism and mystery-mongering is his policy, quite apart from the considerations that make his own acts mysterious to himself. However, the quotations cited by Dr. Frazer from Dr. Codrington seem fairly crucial as regards the hypothesis I am defending.³⁴ *Mana* is at all events the power which is believed to do the work in Melanesian magic, and to obtain *mana* on the other hand is the object of the rites and practices that make up what anthropologists will be ready to call Melanesian "religion." Or once more we seem to find exactly what we want in the following prayer of the Malay *pawang* at the grave of a murdered man: "Hearken, So-and-so, and assist me I desire to ask for a little magic."³⁵ I submit, then, that

³⁴ *G. B.*,² i., 65-6. Cf. the same authority in *J. A. I.*, xi., 309.

³⁵ *M. M.*, 60-1.

mana, as I have interpreted it, yields the chief clue to the original use of names of power in connection with the spell, from "in the devil's name"³⁶ to "Im Namen Jesu."³⁷ Mr. Skeat has compared the exorcising of disease-demons by invoking the spirit of some powerful wild beast, the elephant or the tiger, to the casting out of devils through Beelzebub their prince.³⁸ Admitting the comparison to be just and apt, is not there at the back of this the notion of the magic-working power—the "control"—inherent in the supernatural being as such?³⁹ Secondary ideas will of course tend to superimpose themselves, as when, as Mr. Skeat has abundantly shown, the magician invokes the higher power no longer as an ally, but rather as a shield. "It is not I who am burying him (in the form of a waxen image), it is Gabriel who is burying him."⁴⁰ Still Gabriel, I suggest, was primarily conceived as a magic-working power, and indeed as such is able to bear all responsibility on his broad shoulders. Compare the huntsman's charm addressed to the (more or less divine) deer: "It is not I who am huntsman, it is Pawang Sidi (wizard Sidi) that is huntsman; It is not I whose dogs these are, it is Pawang Sakti (the "magic wizard"), whose dogs these are."⁴¹

But I must move forward to another aspect of the inherent tendency of the magical instrument to generate religion. Instead of taking the form of a divine fellow-operator who backs the magician, the *mana* may instead associate itself so closely with the magician's symbol as to seem a god whose connection is with it rather than with him. The ultimate psychological reason for this must be sought, as I have already hinted, in the good workman's tendency to

³⁶ Cf. *G. B.*,² i., 121.

³⁷ See a recent work with this title by W. Heitmüller, Göttingen, 1903.

³⁸ *Folk-Lore*, xiii., 159.

³⁹ The Malay charm-book quoted by Mr. Skeat puts the matter typically, "God was the Eldest Magician." *M. M.*, 2.

⁴⁰ *M. M.*, 571. Cf. *G. B.*,² i., 11.

⁴¹ *M. M.*, 175.

throw himself literally, as far as his consciousness goes, into the work before him. He is so much one in idea with his instrument that the *mana* in him is as easily represented as resident in it. Meanwhile the capacity of naive thought to personify whatever has independent existence must help out the transference, as may be illustrated abundantly from such a magnificent collection of spells as we get in the *Golden Bough*. Contrast the following pair of cases. In West Africa, when a war party is on foot, the women dance with brushes in their hands, singing "Our husbands have gone to Ashantee land; may they sweep their enemies off the face of the earth."⁴² In much the same way in the Kei Islands, when a battle is in progress, the women wave fans in the direction of the enemy. What they say, however, is, "O golden fans! let our bullets hit and those of the enemy miss."⁴³ We must not make too much of such a change from impersonal mention to personal address. It implies no more than a slight increase in vividness of idea. Still, as far as it goes, I take it, it is all in the direction of that more emphatic kind of personification which gives the thing addressed enough soul of its own to enable it to possess *mana*. In the following Russian example we seem to see the instrument first created, then invested with personality, and lastly filled with *mana* more or less from without: "I attach five knots to each hostile infidel shooter. . . . Do ye, O knots, bar the shooter from every road and way. . . . In my knots lies hid the mighty strength of snakes—from the twelve-headed snake."⁴⁴ Here the *mana* is added more or less from without, for, though a knot is enough like a snake to generate the comparison, yet the twelve-headed snake sounds like an intensification definitely borrowed

⁴² *G. B.*,² i., 34.

⁴³ *G. B.*,² i., 33.

⁴⁴ *G. B.*,² i., 399. Cf. iii., 360, which introduces us to a ten-headed serpent (Greek).

from mythology. The example, however, is not sufficiently primitive to bear close scrutiny as regards the thought it contains. On the other hand, the Australians are, in Dr. Frazer's eyes at least, as primitive as you please, and it is precisely amongst them that he finds a magic free of religion. Yet Australia presents us with a crucial case of the deification of the magical instrument.

To punish their enemies the Arunta prepare a magic spear. It is named the *arungquiltha*, this name, let us note, being equally applicable to the supernatural evil power that possesses anybody or anything, and to the person or object wherein it is permanently or for the time being resident. They then address it, "Go straight, go straight and kill him," and wait till the *arungquiltha* is heard to reply, "Where is he?"—being, we are told, "regarded in this instance as an evil spirit resident in the magic implement."⁴⁵ Thereafter a crash of thunder is heard, and a fiery appearance is seen streaking across the sky—a beautifully concrete image, by the way, of the projectiveness ascribed by the savage to his magic. It is but a step from this to the identification of the *arungquiltha* with comets and shooting-stars.⁴⁶ By a converse movement of mythologising thought, when a man wishes to charm a certain shell ornament, the *lonka-lonka*, so that it may gain him the affections of a woman, he sings over it certain words which convey an invitation to the lightning to come and dwell in the *lonka-lonka*. The supposed effect of this on the woman is precisely that we nowadays attribute to suggestion. She, though absent in her own camp, sees, with the inward eye as it were, since she alone sees it, the lightning flashing on the *lonka-lonka*, "and all at once her internal organs shake with emotion."⁴⁷ Now why these easy transitions of thought from the magical instrument to a celestial portent, and vice

⁴⁵ *Sp. and G.*, 548-9.

⁴⁶ *Sp. and G.*, 550.

⁴⁷ *Sp. and G.*, 545.

versa, not to speak of the identification of *arungguiltha* with other manifestations of the supernatural embodied in stones, *alcheringa* animals, and what not?⁴⁸ Simply, I answer, because magic proper is all along an occult process, and as such part and parcel of the "god-stuff" out of which religion fashions itself. And more than this, by importing its peculiar projectiveness into the vague associations of the occult it provides one, though I do not say the only, centre round which those associations may crystallise into relatively clear, if even so highly fluid and unstable, forms. We may see why the medicine-man is so ready to press into his service that miscellaneous mass of "plant," dead men's bones, skins of strange animals, and what not; and why these objects in their turn come to be able to work miracles for themselves, and in fact develop into non-human medicine-men. But all these things were psychologically next door to impossible, if magic were in origin a mechanical "natural science" utterly alien in its inward essential nature to all religion, and as such capable only of yielding to it as a substitute, and never of joining forces with it as ally and blood-relation. Surely, if we look at the matter simply from this side alone, the side of the instrument, there is enough evidence to upset the oil-and-water theory of Dr. Frazer.

Before we leave the subject of the instrument let us finally note that concurrently with the personification and progressive deification of the instrument, as it may be called, the spell evolves into the prayer. Thus, on the one hand, the name of power associated with the spell, instead of being merely quoted so as by simple juxtaposition to add *mana* to *mana*, may be invoked as a personal agency by whose good grace the charm as a whole is caused to work. Dr. Frazer provides us with an instance of this from the Kei Islands. When their lords are away fighting, the women, having anointed certain stones and fruits and

⁴⁸ *Sp. and G.*, 550-1.

exposed them on a board, sing: "O lord sun and moon let the bullets rebound from our husbands . . . just as raindrops rebound from these objects which are smeared with oil."⁴⁹ Dr. Frazer speaks of "the prayer to the sun that he will be pleased to give effect to the charm" as "a religious and perhaps later addition." No doubt in a sense it is. We have seen reason to believe, however, that such a development is natural to the spell; and this particular development would be especially natural if we regard the sun and moon as invoked not merely as magic-working powers in general, but as powers of the sky which send the rain and are thus decidedly suggested by the spell itself. At any rate it seems quite certain that reflection on the occult working of a spell will generate the notion of external divine agency, and this notion in its turn give rise to prayer. Thus the New Caledonia rainmakers poured water over a skeleton so that it might run on to some taro leaves. "They believed that the soul of the deceased took up the water, converted it into rain, and showered it down again." From this belief it is but a step to prayer. And so we find that in Russia, where a very similar rite is practised, whilst some pour water on the corpse through a sieve, others beat it about the head, exclaiming, "Give us rain."⁵⁰ In these cases the power invoked is more or less external to the symbol. On the other hand, it may be identical with the symbol. Thus the Fanti wizard puts a crab into a hole in the ground over which the victim is about to pass, and sprinkles rum over it with the invocation: "O Crab-Fetish, when So-and-So walks over you, may you take life from him."⁵¹ Here the crab, I suggest, was originally a magical symbol on a par with the stones which in Borneo serve to protect fruit trees,

⁴⁹ *G. B.*,² i., 33.

⁵⁰ *G. B.*,² i., 100.

⁵¹ *J. A. I.*, xxvi., 151. Cf. *G. B.*,² ii., 69-70, where the divine cuttle-fish is propitiated, lest it make a cuttle-fish grow in the man's inside.

the idea of which is that the thief may suffer from stones in the stomach like to these. These Borneo stones are similarly treated as personal agencies. They are called on to witness the anathema. Or again, if a friend of the proprietor wishes to pluck the fruit, he first lights a fire and asks it to explain to the stones that he is no thief.⁵² In short, there is fairly crucial evidence to show how naturally and insensibly the charm-symbol may pass into the idol.⁵³ All that is needed is that there should be sufficient personification for prayer to be said.

It remains to speak very briefly of the corresponding personification and gradual deification of what in contrast to the "instrument" I have called the "end." Now clearly the curtailed form of spell with suppressed protasis is to all outward appearance a prayer and nothing else. Take a single very simple example—the "Fruit, Fruit, Fruit, Fruit," which we find at the end of various Malay charms connected with the practice of "productive" magic.⁵⁴ According to our previous conclusions, however, this is no prayer so long as the force which sets the spell in motion is felt by the operator as an exertion of imperative will and an attempt to establish control. But, given a form of words which need suffer no change though the thought at the back of it alter, what more natural than that the mind of the charmer should fluctuate between "bluff" and blandishment, conjuration and cajolery?

Mr. Skeat provides us with examples of how easily this transition effects itself in the course of one and the same ceremony. Thus "Listen, O listen, to my injunctions"—which is surely prayer—is immediately followed by threat backed by the name of power: "And if you hearken not to my instructions you shall be rebels in the sight of Allah."⁵⁵ And, that we need not suppose this transition to

⁵² *J. A. I.*, xxiii., 161.

⁵³ Cf. Dr. Haddon in *J. A. I.*, xix., 324.

⁵⁴ Cf. Mr. Skeat in *Folk-Lore*, xiii., 161.

⁵⁵ *Folk-Lore*, xiii., 142.

involve a change of mind from overweening pride of soul to humility and reverence,⁵⁶ the same authority makes it clear that prayer may be resorted to as a trick, may be a civil request that but masks a decoy,⁵⁷ a complication which in itself shows how artificial must ever be the distinction we draw, purely for our own classificatory purposes, between magic and religion. So far we have considered the transition from the side of the operator. And now look at it from the side of the patient or victim—the will he seeks to constrain. That it is truly as a will constrained, and not as a person conceived as equivalent to an inanimate thing, we have already argued. An example of the way the savage figures to himself the effects of the control he exerts was provided by the Arunta description of the woman who with the inward eye sees the lightning flashing on the *lonka-lonka*, and all at once her inward parts are shaken with the projected passion. Now savage thought finds no difficulty in postulating will constrained where we deny will and personality altogether. And, once personify, you are on the way to worship. Thus in China they sweep out the house and say, "Let the devil of poverty depart."⁵⁸ In Timor-laut and Ceram they launch the disease boat, at the same time crying, "O sickness, go from here."⁵⁹ Already here we seem to find the spell-form changed over into the prayer-form. Meanwhile in Buro the same rite is accompanied by the invocation: "Grandfather Small-pox, go away."⁶⁰ Here the "Grandfather" is clearly indicative of the true spirit of prayer, as might be illustrated extensively. Or so again the magical ploughing of the Indian women is accompanied by what can only be described as a prayer to

⁵⁶ Contrast what Dr. Frazer says about man's new-found sense of his own littleness, &c., *G. B.*,² i., 78.

⁵⁷ *M. M.*, 140, 308.

⁵⁸ *G. B.*,² iii., 83.

⁵⁹ *G. B.*,² iii., 97-8.

⁶⁰ *G. B.*,² iii., 98.

"Mother Earth."⁶¹ Clearly the cults of the rice-mother, the maize-mother, the corn-mother, and so on, wherein magic is finally swallowed up in unmistakable religion, are the natural outcome of such a gradually-intensifying personification. But this personification in its turn would follow naturally upon that view of the magical act which we have all along assumed to have been its ground-idea, namely the view that it is an inter-personal, inter-subjective transaction, an affair between wills—something, therefore, generically akin to, if specifically distinct from, the relation which brings together the suppliant and his god.

One word only in conclusion. I have been dealing, let it be remembered in justice to my hypothesis, with this question of the relation of magic to religion, the spell to the prayer, *abstractly*. It is certain that religion cannot be identified merely with the worship directly generated by magic. Religion is a far wider and more complex thing. Again, there may be other elements in magic than the one I have selected for more or less exclusive consideration. It is to some extent a matter of definition. For instance, divination may, or may not, be treated as a branch of magic. If it be so treated, we might, as has already been said, have to admit that, whereas one kind of magic develops directly out of quasi-instinctive practice, namely the act of primitive credulity, another kind of magic, divination, is originally due to some sort of dim theorising about causes, the theory engendering the practice rather than the practice the theory. Meanwhile, if out of the immense confusion of beliefs and rites which the student of savage superstition is called upon to face, we shall haply have contrived to isolate, and more or less consistently keep in view, a single abstract development of some intrinsic interest and importance, we shall have done very well. Every abstraction that is "won from the void and formless infinite" is of value in the present vague and shifting condition of anthropology.

^a *G. B.*,² i., 99.

Dr. Frazer's abstract contrast of magic and religion is a case in point. But abstraction needs to be qualified by abstraction that the ideal whole may at length be envisaged as a unity of many phases. My object throughout has been to show that, if from one point of view magic and religion must be held apart in thought, from another point of view they may legitimately be brought together.

R. R. MARETT.

TODA PRAYER.

BY W. H. R. RIVERS, LL.D.

(*Read at Meeting, 20th April, 1904.*)

THE forms of words recorded in this paper are used during the ceremonial which attends the work of a Toda dairy. I have given elsewhere¹ a brief account of the dairy ceremonial. The milking and churning operations in connection with the more sacred of the Toda buffaloes form a complex ritual which has evidently a religious character and at certain stages of this ritual formulæ are recited.

Not only is the daily milking and churning of a ceremonial character, but all the most important incidents of buffalo-life are made the occasions of ceremonies and in the course of these various forms of words are also recited.

I shall confine my attention in this paper to the formulæ which are used in the daily ritual of the Toda dairy. The frequency with which these formulæ are uttered varies with the sanctity of the dairy. In the lower grades of dairy, the prayer is offered only at the afternoon ceremonial. It is said when lighting the lamp before the churning, and it is repeated at the close of the day's work when shutting up the buffaloes in their circular enclosure for the night. In the highest grade of dairy, the prayer is offered twice at the morning operations, once before beginning to churn when lighting the lamp and once when the milking is finished. At the afternoon ceremonial it is offered three times, two corresponding to those of the morning and again when shutting up the buffaloes for the night. The prayer is not the same for all dairies, but there are differences according to the clan and village to which the dairy belongs and according to the grade of dairy in which the prayer is used.

¹ *Man*, 1903, p. 175.

All the prayers, however, are of the same general type, though varying greatly in length and subject-matter.

The prayer always consists of two parts: one which may be regarded as the prayer proper, and another preliminary portion. The 'prayer proper' consists of a series of clauses, such as "may it be well," "may there be no disease," &c., in all of which buffaloes are implied, the supplication being that the buffaloes may be well and that no ill may befall them.

This part of the prayer should be the same in every dairy, the only differences being probably due to individual preference or carelessness on the part of the dairyman.

The preliminary portion consists of a series of words or sentences called by the Todas *kwarzam* followed by the word *idith*, often contracted into *ith*. The *kwarzam* is most commonly the sacred name of a being or object of reverence. The name used for any being or object in the prayer is not that used in ordinary conversation but is a special name, the *kwarzam* of the being or object. Sometimes the *kwarzam* closely resembles the ordinary name; sometimes it is wholly different. In addition to this kind of *kwarzam*, there are others consisting of sentences referring to incidents in the history of the dairy or in the lives of gods connected with the dairy.

The word *idith* was said to mean "for the sake of," and I adopt this translation here, though I am not confident that it exactly expresses the idea in the minds of the Todas when they use the word.

The following is the usual form of the second part or prayer proper:

Tānenmā	tārmāmā	īr kark tānenmā
may it be well	may it be well	with the buffaloes and calves
or	or	may it be well
may be blessed	may be merciful	
nū árk mā	kazan árk mā	nudri árk mā
may there be no disease	may there be no destroyer	may there be no poisonous
		animals (snakes and insects)

kável árk mā per kárt pā mā pusthi kárt pā mā
 may there be no may be kept from (falling may be kept from floods
 wild beasts (tigers, &c.) down) steep hills
 tut árk mā mā un mā maj eu mā pul pāv mā
 may there be no fire may we have rain may clouds rise may grass flourish
 nír ár mā
 may water spring

The prayer then concludes with the names of two of the most important gods or objects of reverence followed by the words :

átham iádith emk tânenmâ
 them for the sake of for (or to) us may it be well

There does not seem to be any strict regulation as to the clauses of the prayer, and in different versions some of those given above were omitted, while others were added, especially requests for protection against special animals, as *pob árk mā*, "may there be no snakes," and *pírszi árk mā*, "may there be no tigers." One man concluded with the words *erdársink erddári ini*, "I know half to pray, I know not half to pray," but I do not know whether this was an individual peculiarity or a special feature of the prayer of his dairy.

It seemed clear that the whole prayer referred to the buffaloes. It may be summarised as follows :

"May it be well with the buffaloes, may they not suffer from disease or die, may they be kept from poisonous animals and from wild beasts and from injury by flood or fire, may there be water and grass in plenty."

I had much difficulty in obtaining examples of the first portions of the prayers. I finally obtained the complete prayers of four village dairies and two of the prayers of the most sacred or *tî* dairies. I will give here an example of each kind.¹

The following is the prayer used in the dairy of Kuuqr, the chief village of the chief clan of the Teivaliol division of the Todas. In the first column are given the *kwarzam*,

¹ The full record of these prayers will appear in a work on "The Todas of the Nil iri Hills."

each of which is followed by the word *idith*. In the second column are given the objects, beings, or incidents to which the *kwarzam* refer.

PRAYER OF KUUDR.

<i>Atthkâr</i>	Kuudr village and probably also of the Kuudr clan or Kuudrol.
<i>ðners</i>	Kuudr village.
<i>palitúdrpali</i>	large dairy at Kuudr (<i>tûdrpali</i>).
<i>palikidpali</i>	small dairy at Kuudr (<i>kidpali</i>).
<i>tûdrpalshpelk</i>	lamp (<i>pelk</i>) of large dairy.
<i>kidpalshpep</i>	all the sacred objects of small dairy.
<i>tûtdrtho</i>	large buffalo pen (<i>tâ</i>) at Kuudr.
<i>tâkîdtu</i>	small buffalo pen (<i>tâ</i>) at Kuudr.
<i>kaðrtorikkâðr</i>	calf enclosure (<i>kaðr</i>) at Kuudr.
<i>keishkvet</i>	sacred buffaloes (<i>pasthîr</i>) of Kuudr.
<i>tarskivan</i>	ordinary buffaloes (<i>putiîr</i>).
<i>kanpep</i>	portion of buttermilk (<i>pep</i>) originally given by Teikirzi for <i>pasthîr</i> .
<i>âtthpep</i>	portion of <i>pep</i> for <i>putiîr</i> .
<i>mutchudkars</i>	stone in buffalo pen at Kuudr where the vessels of the large dairy are purified.
<i>tarskikars</i>	stone in pen where the vessels of the small dairy are purified.
<i>nirkiznîr</i>	sacred dairy spring of Kuudr.
<i>Eikisiov</i>	a buffalo whose milk was the origin of the spring.
<i>Pûlmâlpil</i>	a hill near Kuudr.
<i>Emalpîlv</i>	a buffalo which once lived at Kuudr.
<i>Kakathumuk</i>	a hill near Kuudr.
<i>Karstum</i>	a buffalo which once died on this hill.
<i>teikwaðik</i>	a bush by which a certain dairy vessel is buried.
<i>manikiars</i>	the <i>kiars</i> tree by which the sacred bell (<i>mani</i>) is laid when the dairy things are being purified.
<i>Keikars</i>	a hill near Kuudr.
<i>keitnddi</i>	place where the calf is killed at the Toda sacrifice.
<i>petiut pati pethâltîr</i>	chief buffaloes given when Teikirzi divided the buffaloes with wand in hand. Literally, "wand with divide chief buffaloes."
<i>pâthion nâkh tarzâr</i>	calf which was the ancestor of the Kuudr <i>putiîr</i> .
<i>madj</i>	

Thus, the prayer would run, " *Atthkâr idith ; ðners idith ; palitúdrpali idith ;* and the translation would run, " For the sake of the village and clan of Kuudr ;

for the sake of the village of Kuudr; for the sake of the large dairy of Kuudr;"

This prayer begins with two *kwarzam* of the village or clan, followed by others referring to the dairies and dairy vessels, buffalo pens and buffaloes. Then follow certain *kwarzam* of *pep* or buttermilk which is of great ceremonial importance in the dairy ritual,¹ and of stones of importance in the ceremonies attending purification of the dairy vessels. After the *kwarzam* of the dairy spring, there follow a number of *kwarzam* referring to certain incidents in the history of the dairy. Eikisiov is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day being milked at Kuudr when some of the milk was spilt on the ground. From that day the ground became swampy, and on digging, a spring of water was found which has ever since been used as the dairy spring. The two following *kwarzam* refer to incidents of which I have no record. Karstum is the *kwarzam* of a buffalo which was one day grazing on the hill Kakathû-mûk. It began to bellow and could not be induced to stop. The people tried to take the buffalo back to the pen. It would not go, but died on the hill, and has ever since been remembered in the prayer. These *kwarzam* are followed by two referring to bushes or trees of ceremonial importance and then by the *kwarzam* of a hill near the village on which there are cairns and that of the sacrificial place of the village. The prayer concludes with two *kwarzam* of a different kind. The first refers to the act of the goddess Teikirzi who portioned the buffaloes and assigned to each clan its share. In so doing she touched each buffalo on the back with her wand or staff, saying in each case to whom the buffalo should belong, and this act is commemorated in the prayer in the form "for the sake of the dividing of the chief buffaloes with the wand." The last *kwarzam* is that of the calf from which the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir* of Kuudr are descended, but I was unable

¹ See *Man*, 1903, p. 175.

to ascertain the literal meaning of the words, with the exception of *ndkh*, which is the Toda name for a three-year-old buffalo.

THE *ti* PRAYER.

The general structure of the prayer of the most sacred dairy or *ti* is the same as that of the village dairy, but it follows more strictly a definite plan, consisting of sections composed respectively of *kwarzam* of the gods, of the buffaloes, and of the dairy. In some dairies *kwarzam* of one kind were of more importance and were recited at greater length; in others, *kwarzam* of other kinds had greater prominence. The following prayer is that of the *ti* belonging to the Kars clan, and is used at the chief dairy of the *ti* at Makars. In it the *kwarzam* of the gods and of the buffaloes predominate.

The prayer is recorded in the same manner as that of Kuudr, each *kwarzam* being followed by the word *idith*.

THE PRAYER OF MAKARS.

<i>Anto</i>	The god Anto.
<i>Nötirzivan</i>	Nötirzi.
<i>Külinkars</i>	Külinkars or Teikhars.
<i>Kuskâru</i>	Korateu.
<i>Onkonm</i>	Onkonm who lives on a hill in the Kundahs.
<i>Kirzam meidjam</i>	Teikirzi and Tirshi.
<i>Azo</i> }	Azo and Mazo.
<i>Mazo</i> }	
<i>Katadvanopoh</i>	place near Külinkars.
<i>Peigwa</i>	god living on hill near Makurti Peak.
<i>Karmunteu</i>	Karmunteu.
<i>Kotzgârth</i>	the Paikara river (Teipakh).
<i>Kondilteu</i>	Kondilteu, a god opposite the hill of Kötî.
<i>Mândilteu</i>	a god on a hill near the last.
<i>Onâlevpoh</i>	place near Madjodr.
<i>Kuladrazenteu</i>	god on a hill near Kaladrtho.
<i>kaban adî arten teu</i>	"iron door shut god."
<i>kaban kül eiten</i>	"iron stick held god."
<i>teu</i>	
<i>môrs ver arten teu</i>	"môrs tree under event god."

<i>kleg̃ ir kıldr</i>	"crooked horned buffalo horn cut god."
<i>kwaten teu</i>	
<i>tebkåter at, tan</i>	"imitation buffalo horns took, his mother's brother's lap
<i>mun mađrik teu</i>	god."
<i>måvel kåritan teu</i>	"sambhur from calved god." (The last six <i>kwarzam</i> refer to the story of Kuzkary.)
<i>pilnérkårz</i>	buffaloes of <i>tî</i> called <i>pürstr</i> .
<i>tetnåkan</i>	buffaloes of <i>tî</i> called <i>pürstr</i> .
<i>pirsk muneki po-</i>	"sun to facing that came buffaloes."
<i>tith ir</i>	
<i>nerk muneki po-</i>	"bell to facing that came buffalo."
<i>tith ir</i>	
<i>putådr mun ke-</i>	"tådr tree back rubbed buffalo."
<i>kih ir</i>	
<i>Kitheri kåtk ehh-</i>	"Kitheri stream to jumped buffalo."
<i>kith ir</i>	
<i>påtush katith ir</i>	"desolate pen from made buffalo."
<i>Warwark ethkith</i>	"Warwar (stream) to jumped buffalo."
<i>ir</i>	
<i>er khuberam kitj</i>	"seven heaps buffalo-dung fire setting buffaloes."
<i>erdith éram</i>	

Then there follow twenty-six more *kwarzam* referring to various objects at the different dairies of the *tî*, and then follows the prayer proper, " *tånenmå, tårmåmå. . . .*"

The first sixteen *kwarzam* of the prayer are those of gods or of god-inhabited places. Then follow six *kwarzam* referring to incidents in the life of the god Kuzkary or Korateu. The following is an abbreviated account of the chief events of this life :—

One day the goddess Teikirzi was going from one village to another when she gave birth to a son in a cave called Teivelkursh, by the side of the stream Kathipakh. The name of the child was Azo-mazo.¹ The after-birth fell into the stream and was washed down to the river Teipakh (the Paikara river) as far as a place called Marsnavai, where two plants were growing called *purs* and *tib* in which the after-birth became entangled. It then slowly

¹ In the prayer two gods are mentioned, Azo and Mazo. It is possible that this is an example of the birth of twins. Unfortunately I omitted to make careful inquiry into this point.

arose and became the boy Korateu. The river god, Teipakh, was the brother of the goddess Teikirzi, so that he was the *mun* or maternal uncle of the boy. Korateu lived in the river or "sat in the lap of his uncle" till he was eight years old, and during that time he often played, making imitation buffalo horns out of wood, as Toda children do at this day.

When Korateu became a man he founded the *tî* dairy at Ödrtho, and he cut off the horns of a buffalo whose horns grew downwards (*kîghîr*) and gave these to the *tî* to be blown every night by the *kâltmokh* or attendant on the dairyman. Korateu was himself dairyman at first, but after a time he went away to the hill Korateu, where he lived in a cave with a door of iron.

Near the hill of Korateu there was a tree of the kind called *môrs*. This tree was about 80 feet high. Korateu ordered that honey-bees should come to this tree, and soon after there were about 300 nests, which made the tree bend down with their weight. One day about twenty men came to collect honey; Todas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. The Todas made a fire under the tree and the Kurumbas and Irulas climbed the tree and collected the honey from the nests. When they had collected from all but three or four nests, the tree was so relieved of the burden which had been weighing it down that it sprang back and killed the Kurumbas and the Irulas, and the Todas went home.

At this time Korateu was unmarried. One day¹ a Kurumba woman came to the *môrs* tree in search of honey. Korateu carried an iron stick and he knocked the woman on the head with this stick and she at once became pregnant. The same evening she gave birth to a daughter who was very beautiful. Korateu sent away the mother and fed the child with milk and fruit, and when she grew up he married her.

¹ I give these events in the order in which they were related to me, but it is probable that this incident should have been given as happening before the death of the Kurumbas and Irulas.

Soon after these events certain Todas went to Korateu and said, "We have no place; give us a place." Korateu gave them a place and said that it should be called Keradr. The people then asked for buffaloes. Korateu gave them a sambhur calf and said that it should become buffaloes for them and that the buffaloes should be called *miniapir* and the calves should be called *mávelkar*, and the sacred buffaloes or *wírsulír* of the Keradr clan are descended from the sambhur calf and are called *miniapir* and their calves are called *mávelkar*.

The six *kwarzam* referring to incidents in the life of the god Korateu are followed by two *kwarzam* of the buffaloes of the dairy, and then follow six *kwarzam* referring to certain incidents in the history of the foundation of the dairy at Makars. The legend runs as follows:—

When Anto created the buffaloes, one buffalo wearing a bell round its neck went to Makars to the place where the *tildr* tree now stands. The buffalo rubbed its back against the tree, and some bark was rubbed off, and it is owing to this that the place became a *tí*, the dairy being built near the tree. When it reached Makars, the buffalo was very angry because there was no dairyman at the place and it raged furiously. While jumping about with rage, it jumped over the stream called Warwar, and after jumping over some stones it fell into the stream called Kitheri, but it succeeded in getting out and did not die. The buffalo was also angry that there was no pen, and it pushed stones together with its horns and made a pen.

The *kwarzam* following these refers to an incident in the history of the dairy. The *kwarzam* runs "seven heaps buffalo-dung fire setting buffaloes." The practice at the dairy was to make seven heaps of the buffalo-dung, and there was a law that this dung should not be sold. Once, however, the dairyman sold some and soon after the seven heaps broke out into fire, and the event has since been commemorated in the prayer. This is almost certainly an

example of the commemoration in the dairy prayer of a recent event, for the practice of selling buffalo-dung has probably only arisen since the advent of European tea-planters to the Nilgiri Hills.

The prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who overhears the prayer. I have several times stood outside a dairy and heard the prayer being recited by the dairyman within the building. I only heard a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. At the *ti* village of Mòdr I one day stood outside the dairy and heard the beating of a dairy vessel which accompanies the first prayer at this grade of dairy. At intervals in the noise there was a distinct pause. We have seen that in some dairies the *kwarzam* fall into definite groups, the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the buffaloes, &c., and I inquired whether the pauses occurred between and served to mark off these various groups. It seemed clear that this was not the case, but that the dairyman recited the words till he was out of breath, and that a pause was entirely due to the necessity of taking in a fresh breath.

Of the various features of interest presented by these formulæ, one which will especially interest students of folklore is the close relation between the formulæ and the legends of the people who use them. To the investigator of folklore, it is always very satisfactory to meet with the same fact or set of facts in different connections. When one man tells a legend or story of the past and later, another reveals a prayer which contains clauses agreeing with and rendered intelligible by the previously received legend or story, the investigator feels that the value of both parts of his information is enhanced. The mutual corroboration of lines of evidence collected from different individuals and at different times is a most valuable indication of the authenticity of the record as a whole. Further, many of the *kwarzam* of the Toda prayer suggested paths towards

the acquisition of Toda folklore which might otherwise have remained undiscovered and no small amount of my collection of Toda legends is due to clues given in the few prayers I was able to collect. If I had had time and persuasive power to collect the whole stock of the formulæ of the Toda dairies, I believe that I should have been put on the track of a collection of Toda folklore of which the legends I have actually succeeded in collecting would form an insignificant proportion.

Another of the interesting features of the formula is the change which has taken place and may still be going on in the relative importance of the two parts of the prayer. The first portion consisting of the *kwarzam* is now the most important part, while the words which seem to be of the nature of actual prayer are now often slurred over or may even be largely omitted. It seemed to me that the prayer proper was even now still undergoing a process of atrophy, and if it should disappear we should have only the series of *kwarzam* —a form of words which no one could recognise as prayer.

A further point of interest is that the Toda prayer suggests a possible explanation of some cases of meaningless religious formulæ. It is a familiar fact to students of comparative religion that the words used in religious formulæ are sometimes entirely meaningless to those who use them. The commonly accepted explanation is that the words of the formulæ belong to a forgotten language. We know that change or great modification of language is a very common phenomenon among primitive peoples, and it is supposed that the ancient language, or the more ancient form of the language, persists in connection with religious observances long after it has become entirely obsolete in ordinary life. There is little doubt that this is the correct explanation in many cases, but the nature of the Toda *kwarzam* suggests a possible alternative. There is little doubt that the Todas are now forgetting much of their mythology, or rather that their older legends are being

displaced from their memories by others of more recent date. Should these ancient legends be forgotten, many of the words in the Toda prayer would become meaningless to those who use them. If the story of Korateu were forgotten, six of the clauses of the Makars prayer would be unintelligible to the dairyman who five times a day recites them. I believe that this has already happened in some cases ; there were certain *kwarzam* which the Todas seemed quite unable to explain, and the last *kwarzam* of the Kuudr prayer on page 169 is one of which only a very incomplete explanation could be given.

I do not think that meaningless religious formulæ are often the outcome of such a process, but I think the Toda prayer should be borne in mind as an example of one way in which a people may come to use forms of words which are devoid of meaning.

A further point of interest lies in the *kwarzam* itself. That objects should have two names, one for sacred purposes and one for every-day use, is, of course, a familiar fact to students of anthropology, but the Toda *kwarzam* is something more than this. The *kwarzam* which are of especial interest are those which consist of sentences rather than words, sentences expressing actions or incidents either in the lives of the deities or in the history of the institutions in which the words are used. At a Toda funeral, it is customary to recite the virtues of the deceased in the form of sentences to which the name *kwarzam* is also given. These are similar in form to the more complex *kwarzam* of the dairy formula, and it seems possible that after the death of men or buffaloes whose lives had had in them something of the miraculous, *kwarzam* were inserted in the prayers of the same kind as those used in the funeral songs, or, to put it in another way, that when the Todas wished to commemorate in their prayers a wonderful event, they used the same kind of formula which they were in the habit of using when extolling the virtues of their dead.

I have in the title and throughout this paper assumed that the dairy formulæ are examples of prayer, and I have now to consider how far this assumption is justified. The essential feature of prayer is supplication to a higher power, and in the dairy formula of the Todas there is no direct evidence of such supplication. The gods are not directly invoked; the name of no god is ever mentioned in the vocative form, and in some prayers there may be barely mention of a god at all, if the term 'god' is limited to the anthropomorphic beings who dwell on the Nilgiri hill-tops.

The exact relation between the gods and the formula largely depends on the exact meaning of the word *idith*, which is unfortunately doubtful. But, whatever the meaning of this word, it is quite clear that it is used in exactly the same way in the case of a god as in the case of a buffalo, a place, a dairy vessel, or other even meaner object.

Perhaps the clearest approach to an appeal to gods in the prayer is in the words at the end, in which the names of certain gods are mentioned followed by the words *ātham idith emk tānenmā*, "for their sake may it be well for us."

Some light is thrown on the nature of these dairy formulæ by a consideration of the incantations which are used in Toda sorcery. The following is one of several which I have recorded. It is employed by a sorcerer who wishes to injure one, richer than himself, who has not treated a request for assistance with the proper respect. The words run :—

*Pithioteu Ön iqith, Teikirzim Tirshtim iqith ; ã teu sati
those gods power*

udasnladr; an nddr nödr udasnladr; an kar warkhi peu mā;
if there be; his country country if there be; his calf sleep so may;
an tr tergi püti pär mā; aih on nîr ud puk āthm
his buffaloes wings grow fly may; he I water drink as he also
nîr un mā; on nikh ãs puk āthm nikhai mā; on eirt
water drink may; I thirsty am as he also thirsty be may; I hungry
puk āthm eirth mā; en mokhm ödrth puk an mokhm ödr mā;
as he also hunger may; my children cry as his children cry may;
en tazmokh kutm pät puk an tazmokhm kütin pät mā.
my wife ragged cloth wear as his wife ragged cloth wear may.

This incantation was freely rendered as follows: For the sake of Pithioteu, Ön, Teikirzi and Tirshti; by the power of the gods if there be power; by the gods' country if there be a country;¹ may his calves perish; as birds fly away may his buffaloes go when the calves come to suck; as I drink water, may he have nothing but water to drink; as I am thirsty, may he also be thirsty; as I am hungry, may he also be hungry; as my children cry, so may his children cry; as my wife wears only a ragged cloth, so may his wife wear only a ragged cloth.

In the magical incantations, of which this is an example, the names of certain gods are recited, followed by the same word *idith* which is used in the dairy formula. In the sentences following these names, there seems to be an appeal to the gods, though of a peculiar kind. In this respect it seems that the magical incantation partakes more of the nature of an appeal to the gods than does the dairy formula. Now, if these magical incantations involve an appeal to the deities,—an appeal for a purpose which the Todas themselves would regard as evil,—it seems almost certain that the dairy formula which is directed to call down blessings on, and avert evils from, the buffaloes, must also involve the idea of an appeal to the deities.

It may seem remarkable that there should be more obvious evidence of appeal to higher powers in the magical than in the religious formula, and I am inclined to suggest as a reason the less frequent and less habitual repetition of the former. The dairy formula repeated, day by day, year after year, has been conventionalised and worn down, while the magical incantation, used only when the occasion arises, and handed on from one person to another far less frequently, has retained more clearly the element of appeal to higher powers.

If there is anything in this suggestion, the Toda prayer might be regarded as the result of a process of degradation,

¹ I am very doubtful whether the meaning of this and the preceding clause is correctly given in these words.

representing a downward stage in the progress of the Toda religion. There is some reason to think (it is little more than surmise) that we have in the Todas an example of a people who have had a higher degree of civilisation than they now possess. It may be that some of the higher features of the Toda religion have disappeared; that with the great development of the ritual aspect, some of the higher aspects have suffered and that one of the features which has atrophied is prayer. As we have seen, it is in favour of this view that the part of the dairy formula which most closely resembles prayer is tending to disappear.

If the nature of the magical incantation of the Todas be held to afford indirect evidence that the dairy formula involves the idea of appeal to higher powers, there still remains the question whether this appeal is a supplication or a demand. In the case of the magical incantation, I have no information as to the mental attitude of the Toda sorcerer. I do not know whether he is asking the four gods to injure his enemy, or whether he imagines he can compel the gods to do what he wishes by merely using the formula. In the case of the dairy formula, I have also no clear information as to whether the dairymen are asking or compelling, but the way in which the people spoke of these formulæ gave me the general impression that they were asking benefits from the gods. There is no doubt that the Todas regard the gods as beings who have power to inflict punishment in the case of any infringement of the laws regulating the procedure of the dairy, and there can be little doubt that they believe the gods to be equally capable of conferring benefits and averting evil.

In addition to prayer and magical incantation, a third kind of formula probably exists. There is little doubt that people sometimes use forms of words which are regarded as having virtue in themselves without any idea of appeal to higher powers. The Indian *mantra* seems often to be a formula of this kind. The question arises whether the

Toda dairy formula is of this nature. It seems more probable that the Toda formula furnishes an example of the way in which the *mantra* or similar form of words may be developed. I have already shown that the dairy formula is probably a prayer in process of degeneration. This process has to go but little farther to produce a form of words which no one could recognise as prayer, and in this stage the words would probably be held to have virtue in themselves without any idea of appeal to higher powers.

It seems probable that such a form of words as the Indian *mantra* may arise in two ways. In one, it is merely a development of that lower order of magic spell which involves no idea of higher powers, because those who use it have no idea of higher powers. In the other, it is a product of the degeneration of prayer, and the Toda prayer possibly shows us a stage in this degenerative process.

In conclusion, I may point out that the preceding pages have furnished material which shows how close the connection between magic and religion may continue to be, even in a people whose religion is so highly developed as is that of the Todas. Among these people magic and religion have undoubtedly diverged widely from one another. There is a clear separation between sorcerer and dairyman-priest, and yet both use forms of words which are obviously related to one another, bearing clear signs of a common origin. The sorcerer who wishes to injure his fellow-creatures uses a form of words closely resembling that used by the dairyman who wishes to promote the prosperity of his buffaloes, and there is some reason to believe that the attitude to the deities invoked is much the same in the two cases.

W. H. R. RIVERS.

In Memoriam.

FREDERICK YORK POWELL.

1850—1904.

THE serious and rapid impairment of our beloved President's health, which was obvious to those who heard his Address in January last, prepared in some measure his friends for his untimely end. Only in some measure, for it seemed a thing incredible that a man of such splendid physique, and of such zest in life as lusty vigour imparts, would not pass to his grave full of years and honours. *Dis aliter visum.* The honours are his ; the years are denied him ; he has died at the premature age of fifty-four, to the impoverishment of the world's stock of kindliness and learning.

An only son, whose mother survives him, his school life at Rugby was followed by matriculation as a non-collegiate at Oxford, where he was placed first-class in Law and Modern History. He became successively Law Lecturer, Tutor, and Student of Christ Church ; Oriel gave him a Fellowship ; Glasgow University made him LL.D., and the Clarendon Press welcomed him as one of its most zealous and capable delegates. In 1894, twenty years after he had been called to the Bar by the Middle Temple, he accepted, at the call of Lord Rosebery, the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Oxford, which had been rendered vacant by the death of Mr. Froude. The "outward and visible" results of this appointment are scanty. A slender treatise or two on Early English History, a goodly number of articles in *Social England*, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and the *English Historical Review*, and a heap of reviews in the *Manchester Guardian* and other high-class newspapers, fill the list. But, in collaboration with Professor Vigfusson, whose death the big, tender-hearted comrade never ceased to mourn, he gave us, out of the large store of his favourite study, Scandinavian history, the wonderful apparatus of

introduction and appendices which enrich the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, while he had long had on the stocks a definitive edition of the *Landnáma-boc* (an historical work, generally known as the Book of Settlement), the completion of which his death makes doubtful. Multifarious interests filled and distracted a life into which little of method entered ; hence, unlike his predecessors in the chair, the non-production of any work of high interest and importance. An omnivorous reader, nothing seemed to escape the meshes of his net. He remembered most of what he read, forgetting in the process more than the ordinary student ever knows, and carrying his vast load of knowledge without parade. It was all and ever at the disposal of any inquirer in whom the sincere quest after truth was apparent, be he friend or stranger, aristocrat or anarchist. In fact, this readiness to impart all that he knew was alike his peril and his charm ; it took him off any scheme of consecutive work ; it made him the idol of the very miscellaneous folk who crowded the Thursday night receptions of the most unconventional and most delightful of Dons—a Don whose dress and demeanour and outspoken views were a protest against the stiffness and exclusiveness of university and clerical coteries. He passed without effort from topic to topic between which there was not the smallest relation ; from praise of George Meredith and Henry James and French poetry and French cathedrals to vivid narrative of famous fights, as of that between Sayers and Heenan ; from enthusiasms over Japanese prints to talk on the best sources of history, not of England alone, but of any country that might be named, till the long talks from “evening wore to morning.” As a young fellow he had helped Communist refugees. Stepniak was one of his closest friends. Let a man from oversea bring some story of adventure and peril undergone, and York Powell would feast him at the “high table” in the historic hall of Christ Church, and then carry him off, with brief look-in at the “common room,” to his own den, whence would resound laughter that shook the walls within and sobriety without. Man of letters, he was, above all, man of action, and, in the denial to himself of the thing that he loved most, he found delight in the recital of deeds of the envied makers of history.

For the loss of so loveable a personality there is, there can be,

no compensation. An aged mother, an orphaned daughter in whose future the father's heart was wrapped up, are plunged in unavailing sorrow. In the thinning ranks of the friends who loved him "this side idolatry," there is a gap that can never be filled. The influence which stimulated a host of pupils to the pursuit of knowledge and of lofty ideals has vanished. It is a memory which they will cherish, but what avails this to the number to whom that influence and guidance can never come? The passing away of so nobly unselfish a nature, so well-equipped an intellect, made the more attractive by every quality that can endear a man to his fellows, is a source of abiding grief.

EDWARD CLODD.

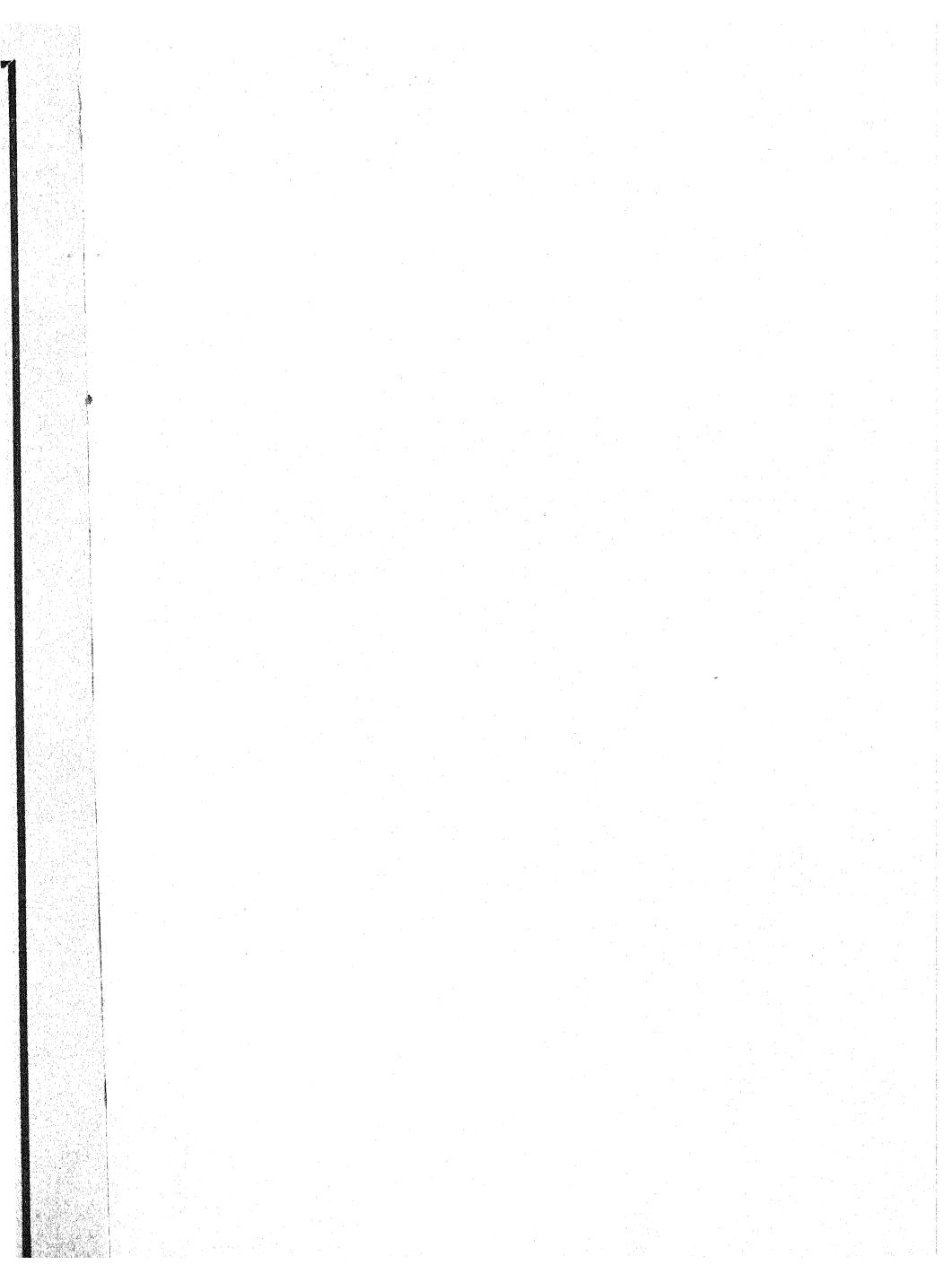
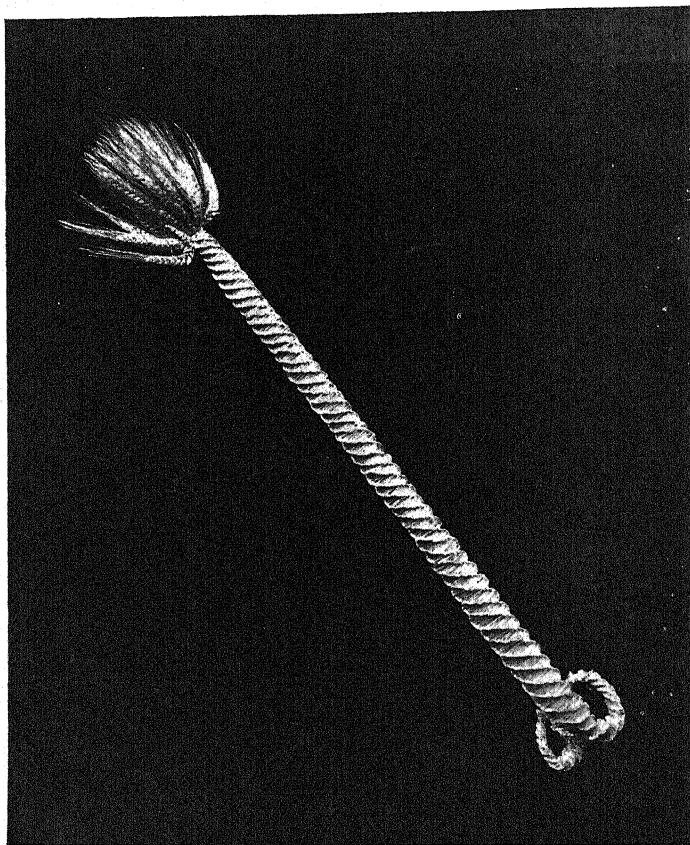


PLATE III.



A CORN-BABY?

To face p. 185.

COLLECTANEA.

A CORN-BABY?

(*Ante*, p. 2.)

ON Plate III. we figure an object made of curiously-plaited straws, exhibited at the Meeting of December 17th by Miss E. M. Grafton, late of Heysham, Lancashire, who received it from Miss J. A. Gourlay, Kempshott Park, Basingstoke, with the following information:—

[In August, 1903] “we passed a field about five or six miles from Cambridge, where they were harvesting. I remember noticing that some of the people were sitting about (perhaps making these things). Soon afterwards we reached the village, Harston, and while waiting in front of the inn for tea a man came along our road—presumably from the field we had passed—with two of these straw brooms, which he pressed upon us. To justify his price he pointed out what a lot of work there was in them, but he did not seem to know much else about them. I remember thinking that he did not look like a local labourer, but more like a tramp harvester.”

The maid-servant at the lodgings where Miss Grafton was then staying in Cambridge recognised the exhibit as an object familiar to her. Dr. W. H. D. Rouse has since kindly undertaken to inquire into the matter, but has only succeeded in ascertaining that the objects in question are known also at Cottenham in the same neighbourhood, and are hung up as ornaments at harvest thanksgiving services in churches and chapels, and also in farm-houses. If they are a survival of the harvest-doll or corn-baby, they are a survival in the last stage of decay.

Any further information on the subject will be acceptable.

EDITOR.

SOME JEWISH FOLKLORE FROM JERUSALEM.

(*Read at Meeting, 17th December, 1903. Ante, p. 2.*)

THE Jews here have various methods closely resembling those of the Outer Islands of the Hebrides for "dodging" the Powers of Evil. For example, when a sick person seems unable to die and unlikely to recover, they pray for him under a different name, using Isaac, for instance, if his name happens to be Benjamin, apparently on the theory that God will know who is prayed for, whereas it will perplex the Evil Spirit who has brought about his condition, so that when he enters the sick chamber to take possession of Isaac, he starts back in astonishment to find his old friend Benjamin, who is thus enabled to escape.

The story is current in Jerusalem that a certain Jew who had lost six wives in childbirth was anxious to propitiate the Angel of Death. When about to marry for the seventh time he bought a cow and tied her up outside his window, and then the marriage ceremony was performed between them, the ring being placed upon her horn, the contract of marriage being drawn up in due form. This accomplished, he proceeded to matrimony with the girl of his choice, the cow was killed, her flesh distributed among the poor, and the pair lived happy ever after and had a large family.

Many curious customs are connected with childbirth. The woman is at this time particularly exposed to the jealousy of Lilith and other "Not-good Ones," and in some households it is usual to attach verses from the Psalms to such spots as the Evil Ones would have to pass in gaining access to her: the window, chimney, door, and the curtains to her bed. It is, however, objected among the ultra-pious that it is wanting in respect to the Psalms to introduce them into a room ceremonially defiled.

The destroying angel on taking the life of a Jew, washes his knife in the water of six houses, so that on the occasion of a death every drop of water has to be thrown away in three houses, right and left; a serious loss where every pint of water has its definite

money value. Last year (1901), when a water famine brought disease and death in its train, the custom became a really important social question.

Nail-parings (as in the Highlands) must be hidden in the cracks of the house-walls or burnt. Sometimes a Jewish woman will serve her hair or nail-parings in a pudding to be eaten by her husband, in order to increase his affection. Nails should be cut early in the week so as not to begin to grow on the Sabbath.

It is said that when a child dies, a piece of worsted, marked with the measures of his favourite playfellows, is put into his coffin, so that he may not be lonely, and so be tempted to call upon them to follow.

The "conversionists," as the Jews call the missionaries, allege that the Jews believe in Moon-worship. As a matter of fact they have a certain ceremonial upon seeing the moon at seven days old, and in the open air, but it is fair to remember that they have special blessings not only for this but for many occasions; on drinking wine, on smelling sweet odours, on seeing the rainbow, &c., &c. On first seeing the new moon under the prescribed conditions, the Jew stands with one foot upon the other, and says, "Blessed be He who formed thee, blessed be thy Maker, blessed be thy Creator, blessed be thy Possessor." Then he skips three times, and adds, "Fear and dread shall fall upon them by the greatness of thy arm, they shall be as still as a stone"; which he repeats twice. Some allege that he also repeats it backwards; then he concludes with "David, the King of Israel, liveth and existeth." After which he must salute the person he first meets.

The new moon, as with us, must not be looked at through the window. A reasonable explanation has been suggested in the fact mentioned in the Mishneh, that the evidence of a witness as to the appearance of the moon would not be taken if he first saw it through glass or reflected in water.

The Indulca, or Indulco, is a form of exorcism still practised in Jerusalem by the Spanish Jews (*Sephardim*) in extreme cases of such disease (madness, epilepsy, barrenness, loss of young children, &c.) as is regarded as incurable by ordinary methods. There are two classes of Indulca, the great and the small.

The small is thus practised. The patient's room and the adjoining habitations are cleared out, cleaned, whitewashed, and decorated. All holy books are removed, and the patient is for-

bidden to pray, to recite Holy Scripture, or to mention sacred words or names. The witch is then called in, and she prepares a little wheat, barley, salt, water, milk, honey, four or six eggs, and some sweetmeats or sugar. At midnight she mixes all these ingredients together, and scatters some of the mixture round the sick-bed, on the threshold, and in the four corners of the room, reciting in a whisper as follows :

“ My Lords, I beseech you to pity, compassionate, and have mercy upon the soul (or life) of your servant (or slave, if it be a woman) the patient (giving the name) the son (or daughter) of your maid (giving the mother’s name) and overlook his (or her) trespass ; and if he (or she) have sinned, and done any evil to you, forgive and pardon his (or her) sins ; give him (or her) life, and restore his (or her) health and strength. (If to a barren woman, she adds), Open her womb and restore to her the fruits of her body. (If to those who lose young children), Give life to their sons and daughters, and let this honey (or sugar) be to sweeten your mouths and palates, the wheat and barley to feed your cattle and sheep, and the water and salt to establish peace, friendship, love, brotherhood, an everlasting covenant of salt between us and you.”

Here she breaks the eggs and pours the same in the aforementioned places, kneels and prostrates herself, kisses the ground several times, and proceeds with these words :

“ Here I offer you life for life, in order that ye may restore the life¹ of this patient.” This is continued or repeated for two more successive nights, and if the case is obstinate, for even seven or nine nights in succession.

If the patient cannot afford the necessary expense, or if the neighbours decline to leave the adjoining rooms, the witch may think it sufficient to go to a cistern, bath, or tannery, and there pour a little salt and water and pray as before, and say, “ Behold water and salt to be a covenant of peace between us.”

The Great Indulca only differs in being prolonged forty-five nights, the patient being required to dress in rich white garments, and the room to be handsomely decorated and well lit with wax candles. In addition to the ingredients above prescribed, there must be many savoury dishes, fruits, and spices.

The great influence upon which the Jews of Palestine depend

¹ Or his reason, or whatever may be the affliction in question.

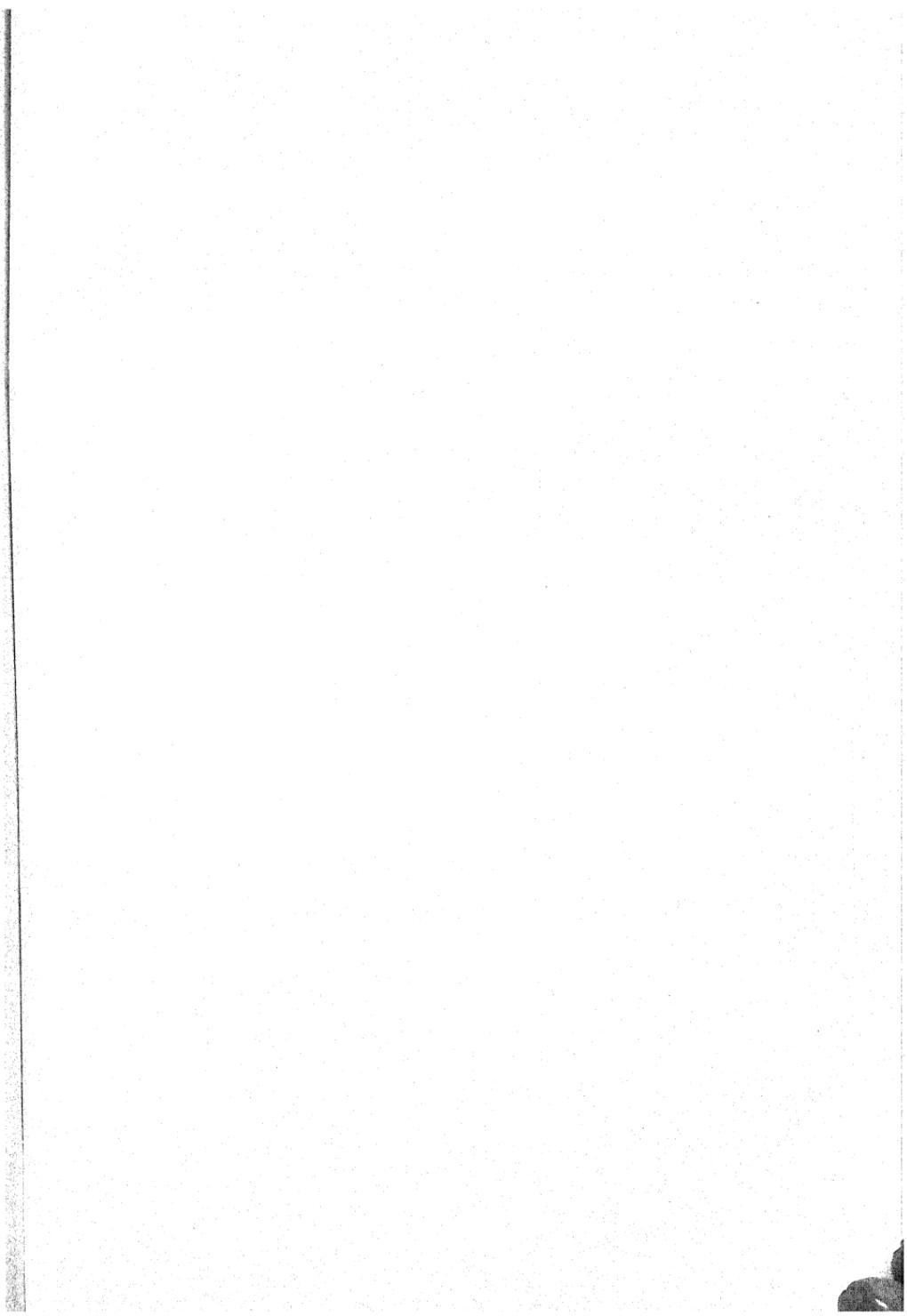
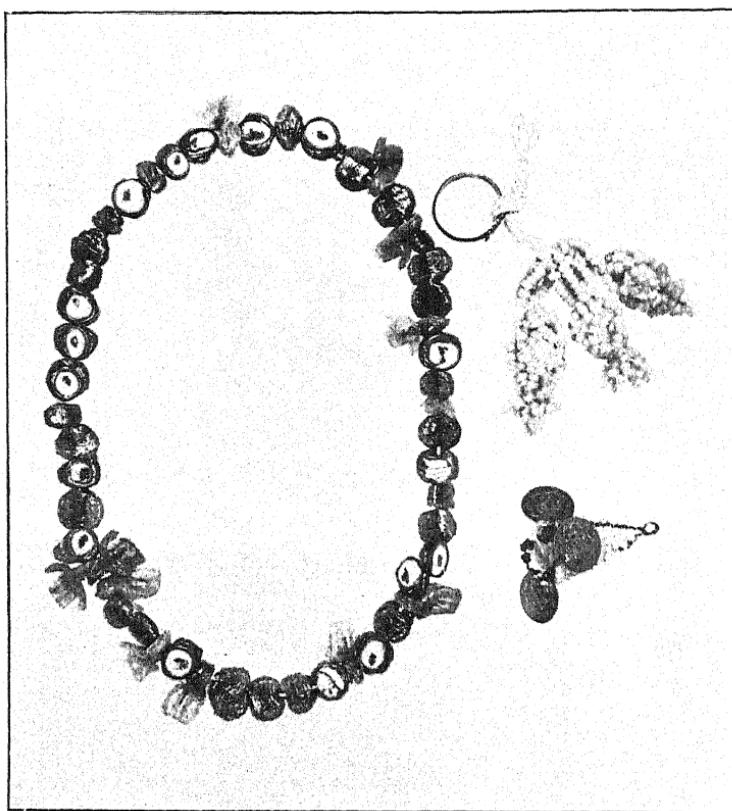


PLATE IV.



NECKLACE OF BLUE BEADS AND TWO EYE CHARMS.

(FROM JERUSALEM.)

To face p. 189.

for preservation from the Evil Eye is the presence of the Hand of Might, a superstition about which this Society is undoubtedly fully informed, as it is widespread, both in time and space. In Egypt the hand, in the form of a gold charm, was given to me as a Moslem symbol, and as representing the hand of Fat'ma, but the Moslems of Jerusalem relegate the superstition to the sons of Isaac, and profess to know nothing whatever about it. Here it is worn by men, women, and children, and it decorates the front of almost every Jewish house, sometimes merely as if the hand of a man had been dipped in blue paint and impressed upon the lintel, sometimes so large as to be literally visible across an intervening valley. Women and girls are adorned with bracelets and necklaces entirely composed of hands, and it is the favourite form of the Jewish wedding-ring.

The colour is always, if possible, blue, a point upon which I have failed to obtain any local information other than the hint conveyed in the following circumstance. Referring to Caliban's description of his mother, the witch Sycorax, as that "*blue-eyed hag*," I ventured to quote the usual gloss that it was an early misprint for "*blear-eyed*," upon which the well-known Palestinian scholar, the Rev. E. Hanauer, who was present, suggested that according to Jerusalem ideas such an emendation was unnecessary, as blue was the colour of the Evil Eye, and a mother would dread notice of her children by a blue-eyed stranger more than that of any other. As in parts of Northern Europe the same superstition would apply to the black eye, is it not possible that in both cases the object of greatest dread is the stranger? The Frank in the one case, the Southerner in the other.¹ The horses, camels, and donkeys wear blue necklaces, sometimes a string of beads, sometimes a collar elaborately embroidered in beads, or at the least a large blue ornament hanging from the neck. The children have charms on their heads made of a bit of alum² stitched into blue cloth or encased in blue beads, and the notion of blue is so widespread that when I ordered some baskets to be woven for me, even in the purely "Christian" village of Ramallah, a few blue beads were carefully fastened to each.

Should the Hand of Might, and the necklaces, and the alum,

¹ [*Cf.* vol. xiii., pp. 202, 337.—ED.]

² Is this an analogy with the English superstition of wearing camphor in the spring?

and the blue beads fail of their object, there are still charms in the possession of the Rabbis which may avert ultimate catastrophe. They are often suspended in a bag round the neck of the afflicted person. The following is one in common use. It will be seen by the enumeration that the mixing may be involuntary, and occasioned even by one's nearest and dearest. The adjuration preceding it is pronounced as the patient receives and is invested with the charm.

I adjure you, all kinds of evil eyes, a black eye, blue eye, hazel eye, yellow eye, short eye, long eye, round eye, broad eye, narrow eye, straight eye, hollow eye, deep eye, projecting eye, male eye, female eye, eye of wife and husband, eye of a woman and her daughter, eye of her relatives, eye of a bachelor, eye of an old man, eye of an old woman, eye of a virgin, eye of a maiden, eye of a widow, eye of a married woman, eye of a divorced woman, all sorts of evil eyes in the world, which looked and spake with an evil concerning N.

I command and adjure you by the Most Holy, Mighty, and High Eye, the only Eye, the white Eye, the right Eye, the open Eye, the most careful and compassionate Eye, the Eye that never slumbers nor sleeps, the Eye to which all eyes are subjected, the wakeful Eye that preserveth Israel, as it is written in Psalm cxi. 4 : "Behold, He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep," and also as it is written, "The Eye of the Lord is upon them that fear Him, to those who trust in His goodness." With that Most High Eye, I command and adjure you, all kinds of evil eyes, to depart, and to be rooted out and flee away to a distance, from N. and from all his household, and that you shall have no power whatever on N., neither by day nor by night, neither when awake nor in dreams, nor on any number of his two hundred and forty-eight limbs, nor on any of his four hundred and five veins, from this day forth Amen.

THE CHARM.

Nezah Selah. "Thou art my hiding place, Thou shalt preserve me from trouble : Thou shalt compass me about with songs of deliverance." Selah.

"He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty."

Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

Enter Sini, Sansen, and Samenglorf.

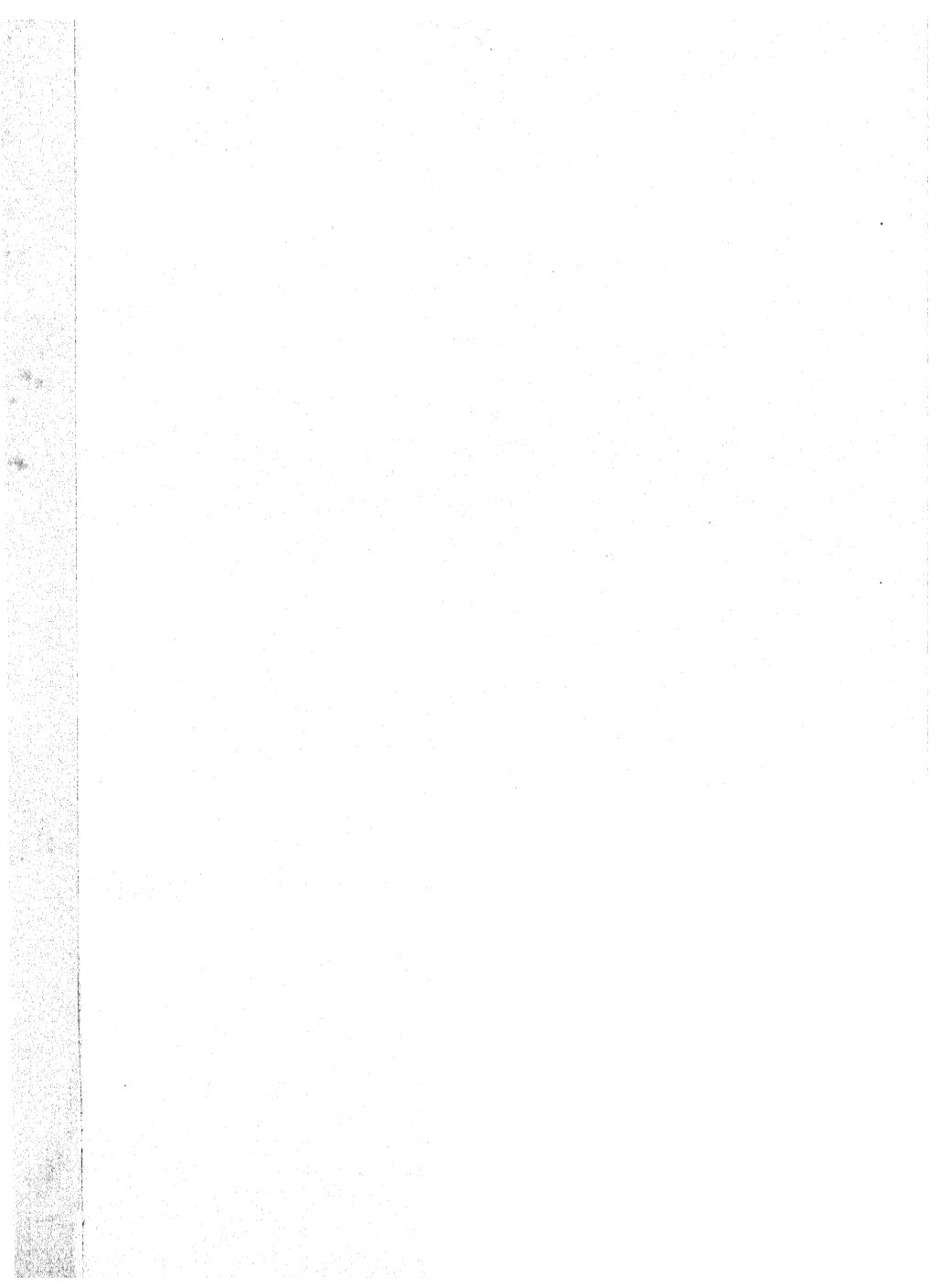
Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.

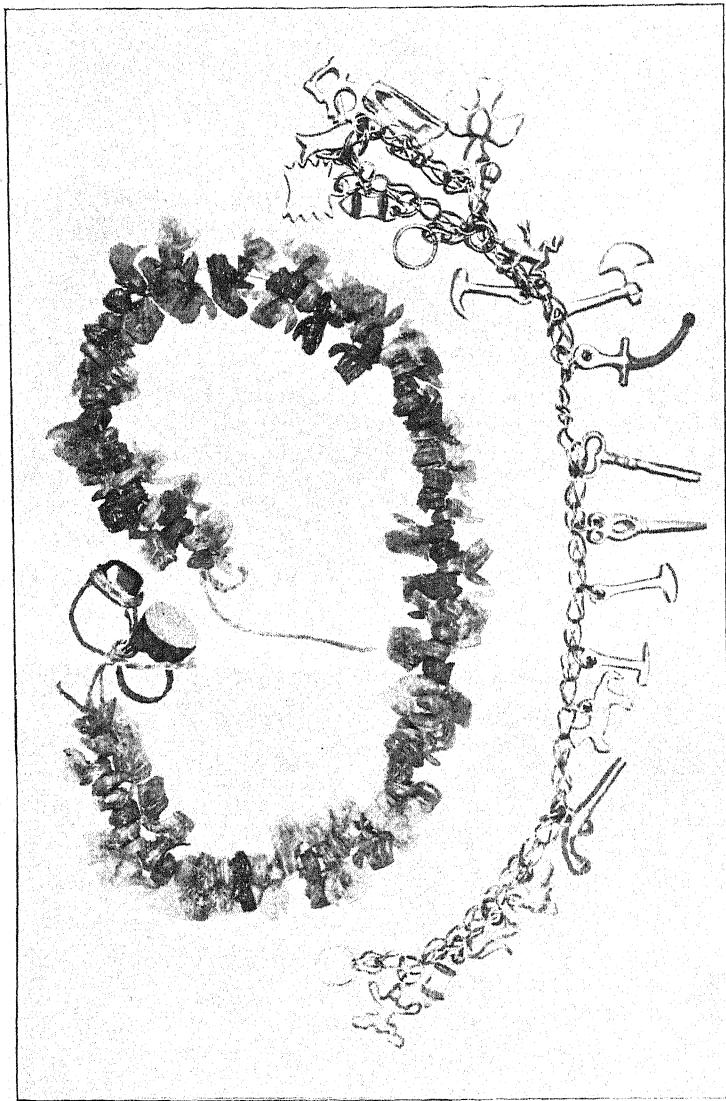
Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.

Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.

In the centre Psalm cxxi. is printed.

The longer necklace figured on Plate V. is of a kind much treasured by Yemenite Jews, and never sold unless when, as now,





CHARM NECKLACES FROM JERUSALEM.

there is great poverty among them. The ornaments are all objects of domestic or every-day use, and the necklace, worn by a house-wife, secures the peaceable possession of all her ordinary belongings. As some are not quite easy to distinguish, I subjoin a list as given me by a Jew.

1. Male frog.
2. Shoe.
3. Comb. (These are generally made of wood.)
4. Stove (for roasting coffee).
5. Lock.
6. Dog.
7. Pigeon.
8. Pestle (for coffee).
9. Hammer.
10. Axe.
11. Sabre.
12. Key.
13. Scissors.
14. Hammer (for tent-pegs).
15. Pick-axe (used mainly for extracting the roots of trees long ago cut down, to which the people are now reduced for fuel).
16. Camel.
17. Pistol.
18. Hen.
19. Coffee-pot.
20. Shoe.
21. Frog.

The exact nature of the superstition connected with the frog I have not been able to ascertain, and fancy it may be of a nature not easily imparted to a lady inquirer. The frogs are used in pairs, male and female, and those I have seen were always in the possession of Jews from Yemen in Arabia, great numbers of whom are now living near Jerusalem in what is known as the Box Colony, being built mainly of the tin boxes in which petroleum is brought from Russia and Galicia. It has been suggested, but I offer it only as a suggestion, that as the frog is associated with evil, it is separated at both ends from the harmless objects of domestic life by a shoe, which, though not evil, is an object of contempt. Hence the saying that you must not speak to a man of his shoes or his wife !

The charms figured on Plate IV. are both against eye-trouble, the most prevalent of all diseases in this country. They are hung round the head so as to hang over the afflicted eye ; the green for severe cases, the brown for temporary inflammation.

The children's charms, alum in an ornamental network of beads, are worn by Moslems and Christians as well as by Jews.

A. GOODRICH-FREER.

The following is a description of the devices impressed on the metal (silver) amulet also exhibited. (See p. 2.)

I. *Obverse.*—A picture of Rachel's Tomb with the words "Tomb of Rachel" underneath, and as an encircling legend the following prayer : " May it be pleasing in Thy sight, O my God

and the God of my fathers, to preserve this child from the evil eye, and sickness and all misfortune."

II. *Reverse*.—The letter \aleph = He, for the name "Jehovah," enclosing two hands symbolic of the priestly blessing (Numbers vi. 24). The central inscription is: "Bless thee, \aleph = (Jehovah) and keep thee," and underneath the word "Jerusalem." The encircling legend is the blessing of Joseph (Gen. xlvi. 22): "Joseph is a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a spring." "Ain." Possibly the charm was made to be worn by a child named Joseph.

Rachel's Tomb is on the road to Bethlehem, and this is a very good likeness of it. It will be remembered that she died in childbirth, and as her tomb is visible from Bethlehem one the better understands the reference to "Rachel weeping for her children." The tomb (restored by Sir Moses Montefiore) is of great antiquity, and on certain days one sees it surrounded by women, Jews, Christians, and Moslems, many of whom are offering prayers and vows in the hope of becoming mothers, others praying for the welfare of young children.

A. G. F.

NOTES ON MISS FREER'S PAPER.

IT is a somewhat dangerous procedure to call religious ceremonies "superstitions," for then there will be no possible definition for "superstition." The outgrowth from or beyond the regular form of worship and the addition of principles not recognised by the ruling faith would appear to me to cover the ground, if we carefully abstain from confusing the one with the other. The so-called worship of the moon (p. 187) is an example in point. There is not the remotest connection between the regular form of prayer to God as Creator of the moon and "superstition," for He is praised as in every other case and as on many other occasions. The renewal of the moon at the end of its evolution and complete disappearance is taken as an occasion for uttering a prayer, which is not by a single word directed to the moon. It must be remembered that the revolution of the moon is the basis of the religious calendar, hence the immense importance attached to its appearance and to the exact notation of that period. Connected with this calendaristic importance is the

mystical Messianic idea ; hence the verse “ David liveth.” I can not enter into a detailed discussion of this complicated question, beyond that it has nothing whatsoever to do with “ superstition,” and it does not contain a single item of superstitious belief or practice.

The change of the name of a patient is part of the general system of ascribing the most potent value to a name. Readers of *Folk-Lore* have had the opportunity of studying the extremely suggestive article by Mr. Clodd on Rumpelstiltzchen, and on the mystical and symbolical value attached to names. The same idea is expressed in the change of the name of the patient, which is equivalent to a re-birth, and is expected to save the patient by endowing him with a new life-entity, not by deceiving the evil spirit who is his enemy.

The ceremony described as an “ exorcism ” is merely a “ propitiation ” or “ disenchantment,” for it does not drive out any malignant spirit. Nor can the person who pronounces the “ disenchantment ” formula be called a “ witch,” for she does not refer in her practice to any connection with the “ Evil Ones.”¹

The Evil Eye formula is borrowed from the Arabs. Miss Freer has evidently taken it from the Jews who came from Yemen some thirty years ago after a terrible persecution they suffered at the hands of the Arabs when occupying Sanaa after their fight against the Turks. An absolutely identical formula has been published by me from Rumanian sources, which prove the extreme antiquity of this special form of “ disenchantment.” It occurs also with slight variations in Assyrian tablets, and has been published by Lenormant and since then often by others.

The reference to Joseph in the amulet has a history of its own. It rests ultimately on the combination of two separate sets of ideas. In the blessing of Jacob (Genesis xlviii. 16), according to an old traditional interpretation of the Hebrew words, the

[¹ It is not expressly stated who are the “ My Lords ” whom the witch addresses, but their nature may be inferred from the prohibition to pray, mention holy names, or recite Scripture. To serve other gods is of the very essence of the witch’s craft, so that Miss Goodrich Freer’s terminology here seems perfectly correct. But Dr. Gaster’s criticism of her application of the word “ exorcism ” to the ceremony seems justified. Exorcism is the banishment of spirits by the power of other mightier spirits ; the ceremony in question consists merely of prayer to, and propitiation of, the haunting spirits themselves.—ED.]

translation reads, not as in the Authorised or Revised, "let them grow into a multitude," speaking of Joseph's children, but "let them multiply like the fishes," and it is further asserted that the evil eye has no power over the fishes, for they are protected by the sheen of the water. In every case where the effect of the evil eye is to be averted Joseph and this blessing are invoked, with the hope that the same result may happen now also to the afflicted one. It is a case of symbolical substitution.

The "hand" is an universal Oriental and Occidental sign for averting the influence of the evil eye (v. Jahn and Elworthy). The protection of a woman in childbirth against the attacks of Lilith and the formulas used on that occasion have been fully treated by me in the "Charm of Two Thousand Years," published in *Folk-Lore* vol. xi., pp. 129.

M. GASTER.

PEMBROKESHIRE NOTES.

(Communicated through Mr. W. P. Merrick).

AN OLD SOUTH PEMBROKESHIRE HARVEST CUSTOM.

"It's none used now, but when I were a young maid the farms was a deal bigger, and more corn grown; there would be four and five men kep' on a farm, beside day-labourers. There must be a foreman, maybe the farmer's eldest son, maybe a hired man; and he must take the lead in all things in the field. In harvest the foreman cut at the head, and the rest, reapers and binders, must keep time along with him. With neighbour-farms it would be a race, whiché one would first finish cutting corn. The foreman would plan it out to finish in some cornel, not for to be seen by the rest farms; then with the last handful he would make a wrach—leastways two wrachs. We called it by the Welsh name; I don't know, is there an English?" (I suggested "wreath," "posy"?) "No, not that; it's just a cry the Welsh have when they have finished a thing—they will say, 'Wrach! wrach!' Now the foreman he must lay his wrach on the breid (swath) of the

other all unbeknown. He will not go hisself, no, they would see him ; he will send a boy, anybody willing. He will disfigure (disguise) hisself, putting on the coat of another, so as if he shall be seen they shall say, ‘Oh, some stranger on a message !’ and no more thought about it. He will not go in by the gate ; no, he will hop over the fence and creep through the standing corn, lay his wrach on the breid, and off for dear life. If they catches him they will take him to their farm and shut him in the room under the stairs, that is dark always, and there he shall stop till they get together all the boots and shoes and clogs in the house, and he shall have clen every one afore he shall come out. Does he lay the wrach on the cut breid ? No, in front, where the foreman shall come to it by cutting. The second wrach, yes, that is to go up to its own farm. Maybe the foreman will send it, but mostly he will take it hisself, and watch his time and pop in and lay it down and nobody see. They had a room in the big farms, not the kitchen, where they was used all to dine, with a long table in, and benches. Mostly he would lay it on the table there ; but if he seen his chance and nobody about, he would tie it to a crook over the table, and that was the grandest ; but should they catch him afore he laid it down, they would dash water upon him. Why for ? Well, it was just a custom. But if a foreman could make his wrachs and get them both laid safe, that was great honour.”

My informant is a woman of about fifty, the daughter of a cooper. She lived in her youth on the borders of the Welsh-speaking district, but her name, Watkins, is unquestionably English. She has been in farm-service. I have seen the corn *wrach* that is brought home. It is a tightly tied bunch with the stalks twelve or fourteen inches long.

The names of the places given me by B. Watkins as those where she has herself known the “wrach” to be laid are all Welsh ones : Brydeth, near Solvach, not far from St. David’s ; then, nearer to the mountains, Penllan, Gellyole (pronounced Gethly-olly), and Llandicefn. Her mother had told her of a successful laying of the wrach at the last-named farm.

“ ’Twas a woman as done it. ‘I’ll do it,’ she says. So when she comes to go into the field she strips off her gownd, and there she was, look you, all in white—white petticoat, white bodice, and over her head, I cannot tell was it an apern, but something white.

On she comes so stately as you please, and drops the wrach unbeknownst, and then she doesn't turn and run ; no, she walks step by step apast them all and so out by the gate. And not one to lift foot nor hand, for they says, 'Stop you, stop you ! Look, look, look ! Sure, 'tis a ghost !' And so she come clean away. Ay, it made a good laugh after. That were in mother's time. I don't know do they make the wrach there now."

"PISCON-LED," AN OLD PEMBROKESHIRE WORD.

"I can mind when I were a child, Uncle Day" (David, pronounced *Dah-y*) "he been down at night fishing in his coracle, and coming up the hill in the grey of the morning through the fields he gets into Lidget Snap—you knows whiché one that is—and round and round he goes in that field till he felt like one bewitched, for no such a thing could he find a way out; piscon-led they was used to call it or pisco-led it might be——"

"Pixie-led ?" I suggested, but she stuck to it.

"Piscon-led, I believe it was. No, there's no meaning to it as I ever heard, it were just a word.

"There's no talks of that, nor corpse-candles nor phantom funerals now. Why, when I were a girl—you knows that gate leading down to Llan-Shipping ? Well, there was a headless woman sat spinning inside that gate ! How come she there and no head to her ? Oh, I never heard nothing, only there she were. You may be sure, if we youngsters was late coming home from Narberth, when we come to pass that gate, we run ! I always did look in, all the same. But I never seen nothing. Lor', no ! I don't believe in them things. I did then, though.

"The phantom funerals ? Well, there was Evie Philips, he would have it that he seen old John Griffith his funeral, the night afore he died, going through the village at dead of night, horse and trap and mourners and all. People, they has spirits, we knows that, but a horse—you think a horse could ? No, sure ! But anyways a trap, it don't have no spirit, so whiché way could it appear in a spirit-procession ? No, I don't hold to none of them things."

A PEMBROKESHIRE CHARM.

"Toothache is a bad thing to cure ; would you like to know a charm for it ? I can tell you one. You know Dinah was home

last haymaking, well, she got the toothache one day. We was all out in the field, and one and another says to her, ‘How don’t you go to John Wood Ford? He cures the toothache.’ ‘Whiché way?’ ‘Oh, he’ve got a charm for the toothache.’ ‘Have he?’ says she; ‘but do it cure?’ ‘Well, there’s a many goes to him; they will come miles for it.’

“Dinah, she were just mad with the toothache, and she says, ‘I don’t care what I do so as it’ll do me some good,’ and down she goes to Wood Ford, and John he give her the charm; a bit of paper folded small and sealed with three blobs of sealing-wax so as you could not look inside of it no way, and she were to sew this in the inside of her stays.

“Do any good? Not a morsel! So she says to me, ‘Mother, we’ve a paid for this charm, and it don’t act; let us see what ’tis, any way.’ So we took and opened it. There were nothing in it but writing; atop of the page was wrote, ‘Peter sat on a stone.’ Then come lines like a child scribbling, no letters to call letters, and then again, ‘Peter sat on a stone.’”

“Cure the toothache! Good Lord!”

My authority for “piscon-led” and the toothache charm is of the yeoman class and farms land of her own; and her ancestors, all English-speaking, have been inhabitants of this parish from time immemorial. Her grandfather was much impressed by Wesley, who preached in this neighbourhood, and held daily family prayers in his farmhouse. She goes wherever there is sickness or trouble, feast or funeral. With regard to the toothache charm, here is a real unopened one which you may keep; it may not prove efficacious, because you ought to have sent word whether it was required for the upper or lower jaw, but I think you will put up with the risk. [See p. 130.]

SOME SOUTH PEMBROKESHIRE CUSTOMS.

On New Year’s Day the children go round singing for pennies or “cookies,” probably from a grown-up custom of begging on “Old New Year,” now followed by few, and those not of the best character. The children come in groups and sing songs learnt in school, the only survival from the appropriate chant being a tag of “Let me come in, my boots is clean.” “Boots” is no word of theirs, they being almost always in clogs.

When first we came here "New Year's water" was in vogue ; some daring spirit among the boys would hide behind a door, mug and sprig of box in hand, and dash out, sprinkling the water in my face ; the joy was to catch one unawares, and in this, as you will guess, they were invariably successful.

There was an old Epiphany observance which I saw but once. A little boy, with coloured paper streamers pinned to his cap, brought in a cage a wren, caught for the purpose and afterwards let go, and repeated something about

Come and make your offering
To the smallest, yet the king,

of which I could learn no more, for he was inaudible outside the door, and within it silent from bashfulness.

The girls used to choose a May-Day queen and bring her round with garlanded hat, the others with posies and singing ; the pennies given were spent on a small feast of bread and jam and "lollies," eaten out of doors. But this is falling out of use.

Harvest suppers are not given, there being no employers of regular labour ; but each family takes a day at the sea (eight or nine miles off) when the busy time slackens, and invites those who have given help in the field, not owed ; for every cottager pays in labour for the privilege of planting one or more rows of potatoes in the farmer's land, the farmer ploughing the ground and carting home the crop. When allotments were offered here they were refused, all preferring this very feudal custom.

A bride may or may not have a bridesmaid, but the bridegroom never attempts to pull through without the support of a best man, called, whatever his trade, "the tailor."

"Why is the mason not here to-day?" "He is gone tailor to Benjy the Bush."

These are not a proverb-loving people, but here is a pithy allusion to the spoiling of an only child : "One child, three fools." And this of second childhood : "Once a man and twice a child, and the last child is the worst." A delicate way of saying that a man drinks : "Too fond of lifting his little finger."

M. S. CLARK.

Robeston Wathen, Narberth, Pembrokeshire,

April, 1903.

NOTES ON THE STAMFORD BULL-RUNNING.

Read at Meeting, 20th April, 1904.

THE practice of chasing a bull helter-skelter through Stamford, and of eating its flesh after it was done to death, seems to have been popular from time immemorial till 1839. The 13th of November, the second day after Martlemas,¹ was the day on which the running took place, and it is possible that the custom was once an autumnal sacrifice connected with the appeasing of the spirits of the dead, or with some feast held after the harvest had been safely housed.

As I once pointed out in *Folk-Lore* (vol. vii., p. 346), it does not seem unlikely that bull-baiting originated in some now discarded worship. "Indications which suggest its association with the cult of water are still to be found. In the Stamford bull-running, for instance, the great object was to 'bridge the bull,' which meant to tumble him by main force over the bridge which spans the Welland into the river beneath. At Tutbury, if the minstrels could succeed in cutting off a piece of the bull's skin before he crossed the River Dove into Derbyshire, he became the property of the King of Music; but if not he was returned to the prior of Tutbury, who had provided him for the festival." And according to *Notes and Queries*, 5th S., vol. xii., p. 456, "the last bull-baiting in Rochdale (Lancashire) took place in 1819, when seven people were killed in consequence of the falling in of the river wall. The baiting was performed in the bed of the shallow river (the Roche) in the centre of the town."

In the *Antiquary*, too—vol. xxvii., p. 140, April, 1893—the Rev. Canon Atkinson stated: "Some twenty-five or thirty years ago I had pointed out to me, at Guisborough, the stone, to a ring socketed into which the bull that was being baited had been customarily chained. The bull-baitings continued, as I was informed, down to the commencement of the present century, or nearly so. And I was also informed that the chain used in securing the bull to the ring was the self-same chain that had been used to debar passage across the bridge over the Tees into or from out of the county of Durham after nightfall. My information was, as I had reason to be assured, perfectly trustworthy."

It may be well to point out in this connection that Stamford is

¹ See *Folklore*, iv., 107.

situated at the junction of three counties, Lincoln, Northampton, and Rutland, though it actually lies in the two former. Possibly the men of these shires anciently met by the Welland to observe traditional rites intended to secure the prosperity of their territories.

According to legend, however, the sport was instituted as late as the reign of King John by Earl Warren, who looking down from his castle saw two bulls fighting for a cow in the meadows below, when a butcher, the owner of one of the bulls, set his mastiff on the beast to force it into the town, which action caused all the butchers' dogs of the place to run together in pursuit of the animal, to the high diversion of the earl (*Butcher's Stamford*, 1646).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the *bullards* who chased the bull had "uncouth and antic dresses." And in 1789 a bull was driven into the town by a woman named Anne Blades, who was attired in a smock-frock. "This," observes the author of the *Chronology of Stamford*, p. 52, "appears to have been the origin of the Bull-woman, who until 1828 used on the morning of the 13th of November to dress in blue from top to toe, carry a blue bull-stick, and collect money from the inhabitants, which was appropriated to the purchase of the bull and her own benefit." But notwithstanding this opinion, it may be held that the Bull-woman was an old institution, for at Mere, in Wiltshire, is a spot called the Bull-ring, where bulls were baited till 1820 or thereabouts," and an old gentleman who died about 1891 asserted that he could recollect a woman named Dolby, who was the last person who rode the bull to the place for the purpose of being baited. She was called "Bull-riding Betty" (*The Antiquary*, vol. xxvii., p. 235, June 1893). Hence it may be concluded that Anne Blades and her successors were not the only women who acted as officials on such occasions.

A carefully-compiled and detailed account of the Stamford bull-running, collected from various sources, is given by Mr. Burton in *Old Lincolnshire*, vol. i. (1883-1885), from whom the following information is quoted:

"Hogsheads were placed at various points, round which the bullards might manœuvre when hard pressed by the furious beast, and often unfortunate were they who could not fall back upon one of these redoubts." So fond were the people of the

sport that a second bull was frequently subscribed for and run in some of the streets on the Monday after Christmas. "The candidates for Parliamentary honours won the poorer electors more by promising a bull than by bribery in other shapes.¹ The Liberal candidate in 1809 was Mr. Oddy. And Mr. Wm. Barton and Mr. Justin Simpson have each a little yellow pitcher with oval medallions picked out in black and bearing the words 'Oddy and a Bull.' Yellow was Mr. Oddy's fighting colour. So recently as 1831 the Conservative or Burghley candidates canvassed under a large flag with a painting of a bull; but this was soon set aside, as the clergy and some others of their party refused to join them till it was removed."

In 1788 an effort had been made to suppress the brutal and dangerous amusement, which had formerly been encouraged by the churchwardens and civic authorities, and a troop of dragoons was called in both then and in the following year. About 1833 the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was incited to oppose the popular diversion by "several Nonconformists and others of the town." The wretched bull was sometimes tortured with vitriol before he would show himself sufficiently belligerent. But it was not till 1839 that the custom was put down, military aid again being invoked.

"A sketch of the history of bull-running," says Mr. Burton, "would be deficient without some reference to the Bullard's Song, and the air with which the song seems to have been always accompanied. At public-houses and other convivial assemblies in the town for six weeks before and six weeks after the Taurine festival it was customary for men to sing the glories of the sport. Every incident that calls to the mind of the lower classes the ancient holiday of the 13th of November is at the present time seized upon with enthusiasm, and the old 'Bull tune' is invariably demanded when anything in the shape of music attracts attention. The origin of the tune is not known. A veteran violinist discovers in it a close resemblance to the quick and merry music of Scotland.

"Several oil paintings of memorable scenes in which the Stam-

¹ At Beverley, previous to 1817, when the sport of bull-baiting was abolished by the mayor, "it was usual for the successful candidates at Parliamentary elections to give a bull to be baited, after which it was killed and the flesh given to the freemen." (W. Stephenson, the *Antiquary*, vol. xxvii., p. 183.)

ford bull was a prominent figure are extant. But the mode of expressing the local sentiment was not confined to canvas. We have seen how members of Parliament hit upon the fickle art in the shape of ‘bull-pitchers.’ Mr. Snarth, chemist, Red Lion Square, Stamford, has a drinking-vessel made of part of a horn of the bull that was run in 1799.” Among other ornamentation this vessel shows the initials of Anne Blades, the famous bull-woman, and the lady herself wearing an elaborate crown. Another memento is a pair of beautifully polished sharp-pointed horns in the possession of Mr. H. Johnson, of Rutland Terrace, Stamford.” These horns “were presented to Mr. Haycock, an enthusiastic bullard, who was indicted at Lincoln assizes for ‘riot’—a term which the law applied to bull-running.”

I have not succeeded in discovering whether bull-baiting and bull-running, as distinguished from bull-fighting of the Spanish type, was ever a favourite amusement in continental Europe. Could foreign instances be studied some light might be gained as to the origin of the sport.

The *Lay of Havelok the Dane*, a poem of great local interest to Lincolnshire people, contains references to bull-baiting. When Havelok was knighted by Earl Ubbe great rejoicings were made. Harping, piping, romance-reading, wrestling, butting with spears, and other pastimes were indulged in. Moreover—

“þer mouhte men se þe boles beyte,
And þe bores, with hundes teyte.”—ll. 2330, 2331.

And again, a little later we read of Godard—

“þat he roreda as a bole,
þat wore parred in an hole
With dogges forto bite and beite.”—ll. 2438, 2439, 2440.

No doubt many other allusions to this diversion might be found in the literature of the Middle Ages.

Perhaps I should add that Stamford had two bull-rings. Speaking of these, Mr. Burton says that bull-baiting fell off in the town “*pari passu* with bull-running.”

MABEL PEACOCK.

BANTU TOTEMISM.

IT has been observed that civilised theories are often anticipated by savage myths. The following extracts from a MS. work in the possession of Miss L. C. Lloyd, the collaborateur of the late Dr. Bleek in his *Bushman Reports*, show that Mr. Lang's theory of the origin of totemism has been anticipated implicitly by some totemic tribes of South Africa, and explicitly by their civilised observers.

“‘Tradition says that about the time the separation took place between the Bahurutshe and the Bakuena, *Baboons* entered the gardens of the former and ate their pumpkins before the proper time for commencing to eat the fruits of the New Year. The Bahurutshe were unwilling that the pumpkins which the Baboons had broken off and nibbled at should be wasted, and ate them accordingly. This act is said to have led to the *Bahurutshe* being called *Bachwene*, Baboon-people, which is their *Siboko* to this day; and their having the *precedence ever afterwards* in the matter of taking the first bite of the New Year’s fruits.’” [Letter from the Rev. Roger Price, of Molepolole, in the Northern Bakuena country, to G. W. Stow, 9th December, 1879.]

“‘If this story be the true one,’ continues Mr. Price, ‘it is evident that what is now used as a term of honour, was once a term of reproach. The Bakuena, too, are said to owe the origin of their *Siboko* to the fact that their people once ate an ox which had been killed by a crocodile.’ Mr. Price is strongly inclined to think ‘that the *Siboko* of all the tribes was originally a kind of nickname or term of reproach, but,’ he adds, ‘*there is a good deal of mystery about the whole thing.*’ The *Siboko* of the *Bangoaketse*, another branch of the *Bakuena*, is still the *Kuena* or *Crocodile*. The *Bamangwato*, another great offshoot of the same parent stem, however, *changed their Siboko* at the time of the separation from the *Bakuena*. The chief Mathibe, under whom the separation took place, had for his head wife a woman of the tribe of *Seleka*, living near the Limpopo. The forbidden animal or *Siboko* of that tribe being the Phuti (*putie*) or Duiker¹ (Dutch), when the *Bamangwato* adopted *that*, instead of the *Kuena*.’” (G. W. Stow, MS. 812, 813.)

¹ *Duiker*, a kind of antelope, *Cephalophus mervensis*. (Proc. Zool. Soc., 1881, p. 763.)

“ . . . From the foregoing facts it would seem possible that the origin of the *Siboko* among these tribes arose from some sobriquet that had been given to them ; and that in course of time, as their superstitions and devotional feelings became more developed, these tribal symbols became objects of veneration and superstitious awe, whose favour was to be propitiated, or malign influence averted, by certain rites and ceremonies, more or less elaborate, with ablutions and purification, with solemn dances and singing, the kindling and distribution of the sacred fire, and placing ashes on the forehead as a sign of grief.” (MS. 819, 820.)

From MS. work entitled *The Races of South Africa, their Migrations and Invasions, showing the Intrusion of the Stronger Races into the Hunting-Grounds of the ancient Abatwa or Bushmen, the Aboriginal Cave-dwellers of the Country*; by [the late] George W. Stow, F.G.S., F.R.G.S., of the Geological Surveys of Griqualand West and the Orange Free State. Two vols., with Tribal Genealogies, Maps, and Illustrations Quoted by kind permission of Miss L. C. Lloyd, author *A Short Account of Further Bushman Material Collected*, (Third Report concerning Bushman Researches). D. Nutt, 1889. (ED.)

On this Mr. Lang comments as follows :

“ The myths here given, and the remarks of Mr. Stow, anticipate my own hypothesis that group-names, given from without, were the germs of totemism. But the incidence is of no service to my argument. *Tribal Siboko* represent the extreme decadence, not the primal form, of totems, and are probably the survivals of the totem of the chief *local* totem groups in a tribe reckoning descent in the male line, as among the Arunta ; a method remote from the primitive mode of transmitting totems by female descent. *Siboko* could not arise in the manner suggested by the myth, among an advanced agricultural African people.

“ I may add that the name of the Arunta *tribe* means “ White Cockatoos,” so given by Mr. Curr in 1886. We do not hear that the whole tribe adores the White Cockatoo.”

Mr. N. W. Thomas sends us the following note :

“ The myth is clearly post-totemic and ætiological, and has no value as evidence of origin. It may be compared with that of the Banoukou kin of the Baperi given by Merensky (*Beiträge*, p. 133 n.). Dr. J. G. Frazer (*Man*, 1901, No. 111) has quoted

from Theal a passage showing that many of the Bantu tribes explained their respect for their *siboko* by the fact that they were inhabited by the souls of their ancestors. This is an ætiological myth, but hardly a myth of origin, as no explanation is given of how the animals were originally selected. *Siboko* is, according to Arbousset and Daumas (*Voyage*, p. 422), properly speaking, "glory," and in its transferred meaning, clan or kin. The relation between the man and the animal is that of *xa*, fear or hatred; they show their respect to it by dancing (*ina*); the name is called *bonka*, name of honour."

"The following passage from Arbousset and Daumas (p. 349) clearly refers to the Bachwene:

"'D'autres Baperis vénèrent le *Khabo*, sorte de singe inconnu dans ce pays-ci. D'autres jurent par le grand papion. Ils ne vont point à leur champs au renouvellement de la lune, se conformant en cela à la pratique de ceux qui chantent le soleil. Ils craignent s'ils se rendaient ainsi à leur labeur que le millet ne restât en terre sans lever ou bien qu'il manquât d'être formé, même qu'il ne fût tout rongé par la rouille.'"

Casalis mentions the name of the Bachwene (*les Bassoutos*, p. 221), 'Tel district du pays des Bassoutos est appelé. . . . Chueneng, chez les hommes du singe.'

In connection with the origin of clan names, attention may be drawn to the statements of Arbousset and Daumas (p. 299) on the subject of the Zulu regiments. The first is called *Omo bapakul*—panther-catchers—and a story is told of an adventure with a panther, to which we find parallels in North-West America and Madagascar; the regiment imitates the roars and the ferocity of the panther, and its leaders wear panther-skins.

The South African clans were localised, as the quotation from Casalis shows. It seems possible that the Zulu regiments have preserved for us traces of earlier totemic myths.

In connection with the names of regiments, we may recall that at the battle of Cattraeth there were bands of warriors known as dogs, wolves, crows, and bears. Bearing in mind that the chiefs were especially known by the clan name (*Folk-Lore*, xii., 36), it is of some interest to note that the leader of the war-dogs at Cattraeth was Cian, the dog. Here too there is a possibility that we have to do with a faint echo of totemism."

FOLKLORE OF THE NEGROES OF JAMAICA.

II.

(Continued from p. 94. See Prefatory Note, p. 87.)

If an owl screech over a house three times some one in that house will die. To prevent this you must cry out "Pepper and salt for your mammy."

If your dog howls during the day or night it sees a puppy, and some one in that house will die.

If a scissors or knife drop from you and stick upright in the ground you will have a strange visitor.

If you are walking along a road through a wood and hear a noise as of something cracking you should look back, for there are two duppies following you, a good and a bad one; and the good one is trying to attract your attention, and if you look back it shows you are the good one's friend, and no harm will come to you.

When a person dies the water in which the body is washed must be put on one side, and as the funeral leaves the house it must be dashed after the hearse, otherwise the puppy will haunt the house.

To prevent a horse winning a race, collect the dirt from the hoof and wrap it up with assafoetida in a cloth tied with the wild slip plant. Put this under a very heavy weight, and the horse will be sure to lose the race. If the owner of the horse, however, collects the dirt first, the charm will not work, provided he throws the dirt away on the day of the races.

To take off a puppy, let the person on whom it is set sit on a Bible and jump three times over a fire. A goat or some other animal's blood must be shed on the fire and the flesh partaken of by all present.

Do not put your hat on a bed, for misfortune will surely overtake you.

If the blinds of a jalousie drop in a house about mid-day, duppies are in the house and are then leaving; it also denotes that you will have visitors.

If you have a death in your house turn all the looking glasses to the wall or cover them, for if the image of the dead be reflected it will cause another death in the family.

If a looking glass drops and breaks it means seven years' sorrow for the family.

If a hen crows, cut its throat at once, or misfortune or death will overtake you.

If a puppy is following you mark a \times on the ground or turn your jacket wrong side out, and it cannot continue to follow you.

Mark a circle on your door with chalk, and no puppy will enter.

The room in which a person dies must be kept for some days exactly in the same state as it was in the person's lifetime, otherwise the person's puppy will wander around to look for the things it is accustomed to.

If your house is haunted, burn rosemary bush, cow dung, and horn, and the puppies will leave.

To keep puppies from troubling you, tie a piece of assafœtida with string around your neck.

Never let your tears drop on a dead body, or harm will come to you.

Never clean your boots on your feet, or you will lose your employment.

Never talk loud at night, or puppy will catch your voice and injure you.

To see a ghost or puppy you must look over your left shoulder.

Never kiss a dead person on the mouth, or you will lose your teeth.

If you see a firefly on the ceiling you will have a visitor.

When your nose itches you are going to kiss a fool.

If you leave your house for work or on any important business never turn back halfway, or ill luck will attend you.

Never make a sketch of the building in which you are employed, or you will be discharged.

Never add a piece to your house or cut down a very old tree, or some member of the family will die.

Never open an umbrella or carry a load on your head in your house, or misfortune will overtake you.

Never take off your wedding-ring, or you will be unhappy with your husband.

If you are visiting a young lady and you have a rival, hang your hat on the rack over his, and you will be sure to be the successful one.

If you wish a visitor to go away, take a broom and lean it up behind a door and sprinkle salt on it, and he will leave directly.

If a large blackbeetle fly into the house, alight on the floor, and fly off again, you will hear good news; if it remains on the floor, it portends something bad.

If a flock of blackbirds fly over a house and one alights on the roof, some one in that house will die.

If the limb of any tree near a house suddenly breaks off, it is a sure sign of death in the household.

If any one sees a ghost and speaks of it immediately, the ghost will hurt him.

If peas are planted on a grave, the spirit of the dead person cannot rise to harm any one.

If your lose you wife, the young lady that put the crape on your hat will be your wife.

To make a duppy laugh, show it a firestick.

If you want a person to sleep, make a cotta (a kind of pillow made of old soft cloth, or plaintain bark, very small) and put it under his head and stick two black pins in it, and he will sleep until you awake him.

If you meet a duppy and you wish to know whether it is good or a bad one, say, "Jesus, the name high over all," and if it is a good one it will help you to sing it, if a bad one it will run away.

If you want to see duppies, take the water from a dog's eye and rub yours with it.

Never sit at the threshold of a door at twelve o'clock, for the duppies will walk over and injure you.

If you are troubled by duppies, sprinkle sand before your door at night.

If you meet a funeral and want to see a ghost, run before it, stoop down and look between your legs, and you will see the ghost sitting on the coffin.

If you light your pipe at night do not throw the match on the ground, or duppies will take it up and trouble you.

If you meet a funeral you must take off your hat, or you will be sure to see the ghost.

If you and a dog are walking at night, never let the dog walk behind you, or a duppy will knock you down.

If you are walking by day or at night and feel a sudden heat, a ghost is there.

It is not good to burn two lights on one table, or some one in the house will die.

Never take an old broom from one house to another, for ill luck will attend you if you do so.

If any one steals an egg he will keep on stealing until he dies.

Never cut down a silk cotton tree except you throw a quantity of rum and rice around the root, otherwise the puppies who live in the trunk will injure you.

Do not spit or throw water through a window at night, for if you do, and happen to wet a puppy, it will box you.

Do not look through a window or crevice at a dead body, or it will be angry and hurt you.

If you are making a shroud do not bite the thread with your teeth, or they will drop out.

If you go to a wake, when leaving do not bid any one good-bye, or the puppy will follow you.

If you are perspiring do not wipe it off with your hand, or you will wipe away your luck.

Never comb your hair at night, or you will lose your friends.

B.

III.

The following collection of signs and omens are obtained only from Kingston, and that also from only a part of Kingston. It is unnecessary to state that the collection forms but an inadequate conception of the superstitions and beliefs of our middle and lower classes; but every sign or omen of good or evil or of coming events in the collection has been gathered from authentic sources; even the boys and girls, though the fact of their genuine belief in them is questionable, use them freely. We give the collection under classes.

Those relating to the Body.

If a person, especially a man, has a widower's peak, that is, if there is a projection of the hair down the forehead ending in a sort of a peak or point, it is a sign that he is going to marry more than once.

If the eyes dance, something is going to happen that will cause you to laugh or to cry according as it is the right or the left. If both, then the person expects to do both.

If the ears ring, that is if there is a sort of buzzing in them, the person is going to hear some news, bad or good, according as it is the left or right ear.

If the lips twitch, you may expect to kiss somebody soon.

When the palm of the hands itch, one is either about to receive money or to pay away some, according as it is the left or the right. If both, then he may expect to do both.

The itching of the soles of the feet betakes a journey.

Whenever a spider's web gets across one's face, especially in the night, it is a sign that spirits are present.

Sneezing is always a token of luck to a woman. This luck is good or bad, according as her firstborn is a boy or a girl, and the sneezer does or does not correspond.

Good or bad luck is also betokened by the butting of the right or left foot.

When going out to receive money never return to the house after you have once left it, or you will not get it.

A child possessing small ears is sure to be poor, while one possessing large is sure to be rich.

If an infant is born with a caul, it will be able to see ghosts.

Relating to the House.

The opening of an umbrella in a house is uncanny ; it brings bad luck.

If a cock comes in and crows, it is a sign that misfortune is about to befall some member of the family.

The eating of the feet (the soles) by mice during sleep is an omen of a coming calamity.

If bats or birds enter the house, it is a sign that some stranger or a loved one will shortly visit it.

If an owl flies over the house, or a John Crow is seen near it after dark, a dire calamity may be expected.

The cracking of the house in the breeze is an ill omen, and the inmates must look out for trouble.

If a pair of scissors or a knife or a fork drops and sticks upright, a stranger will soon pay the house a visit.

If when stirring a cup of tea a leaf is whirled round but keeps to the edge of the cup, it is a sign that the person who stirs the tea will soon receive some money. If it whirls around the spoon, somebody in the house will soon be married.

People ought not to sit or stand so as to leave no passage. This will hinder ghosts from having free ingress and egress, and they will be angry.

Relating to Outdoor.

The pitiful whining of a dog signifies the presence of ghosts.

When throwing water out of a window always be careful to ask the spirits to remove, for fear you may wet them.

If two hens kiss, that is, put their beaks together, some strange lady is going to visit the place. If one of the birds is a cock, the visitor will be a gentleman.

The cry of the croaking lizard and the flying about of cock-roaches are signs of rain.

Don't shy stones at twelve noon or in the night, for fear you may hit a ghost. These are the ordinary times when they "take their walks abroad."

It is not good to spit in a fire or to burn dung. The former will cause your saliva to dry up, and the latter will give you pains in the intestines.

Do not throw hair that is cut from your head carelessly about. It is detrimental to your brain.

A ghost that walks with a piece of rope round his neck and a rolling calf, a Chinese ghost or a coolie one, two picknie puppies with a three-footed horse, are the most malignant spirits that can be met.

Relating to Dreams.

Generally speaking dreams are believed to go by contraries, that is, if one dreams of death it betokens a birth, and vice versa. There are a few, however, which deserve special notice.

One who dreams of silver will be sure to meet some bad luck in money matters. If on the other hand the dream be of copper or gold it is a sign of the reverse.

If the dreamer struggles with any one in his sleep—say a dog or a cow—or if he dreams that he is falling over a precipice, he is

going to have some quarrel or other, or somebody is going to do him an injury. If he overcomes the difficulty in his dreams he will be victorious in the end.

The falling down or division of a house and the breaking off of a green branch of a tree is a doleful prognostication of coming death.

If trees shoot and grow, an infant will be born whose life will be a happy one.

Miscellaneous.

It is not good to give away handkerchiefs, scissors, knives, pins, or needles. If a friend makes a present of any of these articles to a friend there will a rupture between them.

The breaking of a mirror betokens seven years of misery.

When a funeral is passing never bend your head down and look between your legs. The dead will break your neck for you.

Wakes and ninth nights are very common. Even in Kingston the practice is kept up by fairly intelligent persons. It may truthfully be said, however, that the majority only do these "sitting up" business as a matter of mourning the loss of the departed; but it is affirmed that many old people have the custom of spreading the bed and setting water, &c., for the reception of the "duddy," who is sure to come at twelve midnight. They take good care also next morning to empty the vessels of the water that had been placed in them the evening before, and other foolish and superstitious ceremonies.

C.

IV.

In all ages of the world's history, from the ages of antiquity until the present time, we find that a great drawback to the people's welfare and prowess is their superstition. It was to be found in all ranks and grades of society, from the peasant's fireside, among sailors and soldiers alike, even in the mansions of the rich and great; and in many cases their superstitions ruled their will. Even at the present age, with our advance of civilisation on previous ages, there are incidents which happen

frequently enough and yet are looked upon as signs of coming events. Of these the following are well known.

The breaking of a green bough without any external force, the flying of crows after dark, the lowing of cows at night, and rats eating your fingers or clothes, all these are said to be sure indication of death or some such serious catastrophe. Besides these there are many which signify events of a less doleful nature, such as the following.

If the day fixed for a marriage should turn out to be a very bleak and wet day, the couple are said to be sure to live a miserable life; on the other hand, should it be a fine and quiet day, they may expect to live a very peaceful and happy life. Again should several persons be shaking hands together and one should cross over another, be sure one of the party will soon get married. It is said to be unlucky to marry on your birthday, as it prognosticates an unhappy marriage life. Should any individual give to his or her lover a pair of scissors, a pocket knife, a hand-kerchief, or a single pin, some unhappy affair will take place and result in their estrangement. Another is that if one should open an umbrella in a house, sit on a table, or put his hat on a table, he will never get married. Then there are some which relate to the amassing of fortune. Should you have a large pair of ears it is believed you will eventually become very rich, whilst a small pair indicates just the contrary. Also if you are travelling, and on your way as you are nearing your destination you should strike what is called your "good foot," you are most likely to succeed in whatever undertaking you are going about. Again, should your right palm itch and you rub it against your pocket, you are sure to get some money in a short time, while the itching of your left palm indicates your spending money.

There are many others which are said to signify various illusions, of which the following may be mentioned. The man who at an early age drinks out of a pot will never grow a beard. If you show your money to a new moon you will never be out of cash. If you should happen to peel an orange without breaking the rind you will soon get a new suit of clothes. If two persons begin to say the same thing at once (unintentionally) they will die together. It is not good to throw anything outdoors at night, as you may hit some spirit. If you should scrape your finger nails you will become very poor. If you throw up a cat in the air and it

happens to fall on the two front feet you are sure to die like a dog. If two fowls put their heads together for some time they are said to be talking, and this signifies the arrival of strange visitors. If your dogs howl at night there are ghosts in your yard, and if you do not wish them to come in the house put some grains or pebbles on your step ; they will try to count them, but can never count beyond three. Another most ridiculous is that if you do not throw out some of your punch at Christmas you will be stoned by angry ghosts.

D.

(*To be continued.*)

GREEK AND CRETAN EPIPHANY CUSTOMS.

At Epiphany a priest goes in procession to a spring, river, cistern, or to the sea, and immerses a cross three times. At the same time a white dove is released. The cross is fetched out by a man who dives for it. The whole custom is now explained as a commemoration of Christ's baptism in Jordan.

In an Epiphany song recorded in 'Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν, ix., 341, the water with which Christ is baptised is regarded as connected with rain magic, and we may probably interpret the custom above mentioned as a rain charm.

In Crete the cross is covered with leaves and flowers (*cf.* Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, p. 119), but it is only used for making the sign of the cross over the sea, a silver cross being actually immersed.

R. M. DAWKINS.

CORRESPONDENCE.

RÉPONSE À M. LANG.

(*Supra*, p. 100.)

DANS le *Folk-Lore* de Mars, M. Lang, sous prétexte de se défendre contre mes critiques, m'attaque directement. Je suis donc obligé, à mon grand regret, de demander l'hospitalité du *Folk-Lore* pour les quelques observations qui suivent. Afin d'abréger le débat, je n'examinerai pas si M. Lang s'est justifié ou non de mes critiques, et me borne à répondre à celle qu'il m'a adressée.

M. Lang me réproche d'avoir renié ma propre théorie sur la nature du totem. J'aurais (*Année Sociologique*, I., pp. 6 et 52) dit qu'un clan peut changer de totem et, dans la même périodique (V., pp. 110, 111), j'aurais établi qu'un tel changement est impossible. En réalité, la seconde opinion qui m'est ainsi attribuée n'est pas la mienne et je ne l'ai pas exprimée.

En effet, je n'ai pas dit que groupes et individus ne pouvaient jamais changer de totem, mais, ce qui est tout autre chose, que le principe de filiation totémique, la manière dont le totem est réputé se transmettre des parents aux enfants ne pouvait être modifiée par mesure législative, par simple convention. Je cite les expressions que j'ai employées et que tait M. Lang : "Tant que, d'après les croyances regnantes, le totem de l'enfant était regardé comme une emanation du totem de la mère, il n'y avait pas de mesure législative qui pût faire qu'il en fut autrement." Et plus bas : "(Les croyances totémiques) ne permettaient pas que le mode de transmission du totem pût être modifié d'un coup, par un acte de la volonté collective." Il est clair, en effet, que si l'on croit fermement que l'esprit totémique de l'enfant est déterminé par le fait de la conception, il n'y a pas de législation qui puisse décider qu'à partir

d'un certain moment il aura lieu de telle façon et non de telle autre. Mais mon assertion ne porte que sur ce cas particulier. Et des changements de totems restent possibles dans d'autres conditions comme celles dont il est question dans le Tome I. de *l'Année Sociologique*. J'ajoute que même ces changements n'ont jamais lieu, à mon sens, par mesure législative.

J'ai, il est vrai, comparé un changement de totem à un changement d'âme. Mais ces changements d'âmes n'ont rien d'impossible (pour l'homme primitif) dans des conditions déterminées. Seulement, ils ne sauraient avoir lieu par décret ; or, c'est tout ce que signifiaient les quatre ou cinq mots incriminés par M. Lang. Leur sens est très clairement déterminé par tout le contexte comme je viens de le montrer. En tout cas, après les explications qui précèdent, appuyées sur des textes, il ne saurait y avoir de doute sur ma pensée, et je considère par suite le débat comme clos.

E. DURKHEIM.

[My difficulty is to understand how, if "the totem is not a thing which men believe they can dispose of at will, at least while totemic beliefs are still in vigour," men did dispose of it at their will, when, on Dr. Durkheim's theory, they abandoned their old, and chose new totems *à volonté* (*L'Année Sociologique*, i., p. 6, v., p. 110). This point appears to me to need elucidation.

A. LANG.]

ADDITIONAL VARIANTS OF THE FATHER AND SON COMBAT THEME.

IN a notice of my book on the Epic Theme of a Combat between Father and Son in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiv., p. 307, M. Gaidoz has called attention to two variants which had escaped my notice. To these I should like to add one or two more, the first of which comes from the Sandwich Islands. It is told of Umi, one of the famous monarchs of Hawaiian traditional history. According to Fornander,¹ the story is as follows :

¹ Fornander, Abraham, *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, vol. ii, p. 74. In this case as in the next I have quoted the stories almost word for word.

Liloa's first wife was Pinea, a Maui chiefess, with whom he had a son, Hakau, and a daughter Kaputini. Later in life while travelling near the borders of the Hamakua and Hilo districts he spied a young woman named Akahiakuleana, with whom he fell in love and seduced. The offspring of this liaison was a son whom the mother named Umi. On parting from Akahiakuleana Liloa gave her the ivory clasp of his necklace, his feather wreath, and his *malo* or waistcloth,¹ and told her that when the child grew up, if it was a boy, to send him with the tokens to Waipio, and he would acknowledge him. The boy grew up with his mother and her husband, a fine, hearty, well-developed lad, foremost in all sports and athletic games of the time, but too idle and lazy in works of husbandry to suit his plodding stepfather.

When Umi was nearly a full-grown young man his stepfather once threatened to strike him as punishment for his continued idleness. The mother, however, averted the blow, and said to her husband, "Do not strike him; he is not your son; he is your chief." She then revealed the secret of his birth, and produced from their hiding place the keepsakes which Liloa had left with her. The astonished stepfather stepped back in dismay, and the mother furnished Umi with means and instructions for the journey to Waipio. When he arrived there he proceeded to the royal mansion. In accordance with his mother's instructions, but contrary to the rules of etiquette observed by strangers or inferior visitors, instead of entering the courtyard by the gate he leaped over the stockade, and instead of entering the mansion by the (front) door he entered by the back door, and went straight up to where Liloa was reclining and sat himself down in his lap. Surprised at this sudden action Liloa threw the young man to the ground, and, as he fell, discovered his *malo* and his ivory clasp on the body of Umi. Explanations followed, and Liloa publicly acknowledged his son.

The resemblance of this Hawaiian story to the New Zealand ones is very striking. The hostile encounter results from the breaking of the taboo, only in this particular tale there is even more of an actual struggle. While there is little more than an altercation of words in the Maori variants, in this case the father throws his son to the ground, and the sight of the tokens alone

¹ In another version he gives her his dagger instead of the feather wreath.

prevents further violence. It will be noticed the regular formula feature of the tokens is more developed in this story than in the ones from New Zealand.

The next story is curious, and perhaps can hardly be called a variant of the theme. There is no actual fight, but the son does seek the father, and the latter failing to recognise him, and boding no good to himself from the meeting with a stranger, flees precipitately. The tale comes from Rotuma,¹ an island in the Pacific, where the natives, who are of mixed Papuan stock, have come into frequent contact with Polynesians from Tonga, Samoa, and other islands. It might be mentioned that the women are free to marry whom they please, and it is their duty to attract to their *haag* men who will enter and become a part of it. Usually all overtures are made by the girl.

The legend, as given by Mr. Gardiner, says that a certain Pilhofu had a son whose name was Tokaniua, and whom he left in Niuafoou when he first returned to Rotuma. After a time Tokaniua, who had become a great warrior, came over to Rotuma to search for his father, from whom he wanted help; he journeyed in a large double canoe and landed at Soukama. . . . Landing, he first meets a girl called Leanfuda, whom he asks if she has seen his father. She refers him to Rosso ti Too, who tells him that he must ask Fetutoumal, a man living at Tarasua. He accordingly goes to Tarasua, and in reply to his inquiries is told that his father is at Upsese, a stone in front of Teukoi point, combing his hair. Further, he is directed that if he desires to see his father he must quietly roll this stone back. But when near Upsese Tokaniua has to walk across the sand, and making a noise is heard by Pilhofu, who at once takes to flight. Tokaniua pursues, but Pilhofu dives through a rock, and Tokaniua in following has great difficulty in stretching himself out sufficiently to squeeze through. But Pilhofu has turned himself into a stone, with the exception of one of his big toes, which Tokaniua seizes, and a conversation results.

Pilhofu : "Who is that?"

Tokaniua : "It is I. Turn round, as I want to talk to you."

Pilhofu : "Why do you pursue me?"

¹ J. Stanley Gardiner, "The Natives of Rotuma," *J. A. I.*, vol. 27, pp. 508-9.

Tokaniua: "I have done something you must help me in. We have been playing at throwing spears at bananas in Niuafoou. I have hit nine and I must hit the tenth to win. You must help me." (At the same time a waterspout comes and drops both in Niuafoou.)

Pilhofu: "Take me to where you have got to throw and bury me there. Your opponents will throw first, but as I am a stone their spears will not stick in me or hurt me. When you throw, though, look at my left eye, which I will open, and there your spear will stick."

The story goes on to tell of the spear-throwing, in which Tokaniua follows his self-sacrificing father's advice. As will have been noticed, nothing is said about the mother. Another legend given by Mr. Gardiner speaks of her and the grandparents. In a way it is a variant of the story just quoted. Curiously enough it has much to say about hostility between father and son, only in this case there is no lack of recognition. The father simply makes desperate attempts to get rid of an undesirable child.

Another story destitute of formula features, but this time containing an actual tragedy, occurs in *Niedrischu Widewuts*.¹

The hero, on his way to the land of the Zemgalians, is warned by a bird that when he arrives there a hare will run through the castle garden. This hare is the son of the old king, and will be slain by the latter unless some one interferes. He who does this will be turned to stone up to his knees. The prophecy is fulfilled. Widewut warns the father as he is about to kill his child and receives the predicted punishment.

Again, it seems to me that the story of Theseus and his father Ægeus is really a very fair example of the theme. Ægeus comes to Troezene and makes pregnant Æthra, daughter of King Pittheus. When he departs he tells her that he has hidden a sword and a pair of sandals beneath a huge rock. If a boy is born, when he becomes old and strong enough, he is to lift the rock, take the tokens, repair to Athens, and claim Ægeus as his father. Æthra gives birth to Theseus, and in due time the lad carries out his father's behests. On arriving at Athens, however, Medea, who is now the wife of Ægeus, fearing that she will lose her influence if

¹ *Niedrischu Widewuts*, Epopée Latavienne. H. Wissendorff de Wisskuok. *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, vol. xi., pp. 548-9.

Theseus is acknowledged by his father, persuades the latter with her calumnies to present a cup of poison to the boy. The tragedy is averted, however, by Ægeus discovering Theseus' identity by means of his old sword.

At the time of publishing my book I overlooked the conjecture of Mr. George Henderson that in one of the versions of the Irish saga of the feast of Bricriu, Sualdam the father of Cuchullin was the person who tested that hero's courage. This suggestion is interesting and quite plausible; we have the father fighting with his son for the same reason in other variants of the tale.

Nearly all the previous lists of variants have included examples of hostile encounters between other relatives than father and son. As I have already said, I think that these should be kept apart, as they form a class by themselves. Those who are interested in them will find a rich field in the popular literature of the Balkan Peninsula and Modern Greece celebrating the exploits of Haiducks and Klephts. In the Servian and Bulgarian songs we have some interesting combats between Marko Kralievitch and his sister's son.

Lastly, I should like to call attention to an article entitled *Die iranische Heldensage bei den Armeniern*¹ by Chalatanz, in which the writer has indicated another variant, one of the heroes of which is Bourzé. Here we meet once more with the marriage away from home, and in fact, the direct influence of the Sohrab and Rustem tale is evident. The great popularity of the Sohrab and Rustem episode in the *Shah Nameh*, caused it to be imitated in the later Persian epics, which form a Rustem cycle. In the *Tahangir Nameh*, Rustem fights with his son Tahangir. Recognition prevents a tragedy. (Reference in note, Ethe, *Neupersische Literatur*, p. 234, in Geiger-Kuhn, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II. Band.) In the *Bourzo Nameh*, Rustem fights with Bourzo, son of Sohrab (Noldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*, p. 209, *Grundriss*, II. Band).

MURRAY A. POTTER.

¹ *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, vol. xiv., p. 41.

MONMOUTHSHIRE NOTES.

(Supra, p. 86.)

"WALKING the wheat" was, I think, done on Easter Sunday. The owner of the land with his family and men (possibly women also) went up and down through the fields of young wheat, each carrying a small cake and cider ; they ate a little, buried a little, and flung a little piece abroad, saying :

"A bit for God, a bit for man,
And a bit for the fowls of the air."

In my grandfather's house the fire was blessed on some day of the year and all other fires were lighted from that one.

I once saw a flat cake with a hole in the middle put on the horn of the leading cow of the herd, and the family servants standing around, singing :

"Here's a health to thee, Brownie, and to thy white horn,
God send thy master a good crop of corn.
Thee eat thy cake and I'll drink my beer,
God send thy master a happy New Year."

But the cow did not eat the cake ; she tossed it by throwing up her head, as she objected to the weight of it on her horn, and it depended on where the cake fell—in front or behind her—whether the year would be good or bad for her master.

The bees were put in mourning when any of the family died ; a piece of crape was tied on the hives. When the head of the family died the bees were told (my mother heard it), "My little friends, William your master is dead, and John is master now." If this had not been done it was supposed they would all have gone away at the first swarm.

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[With the customs above narrated may be compared the Herefordshire customs described in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xii., p. 350.—ED.]

REVIEWS.

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1901. General Report by H. H. RISLEY and E. A. GAIT. Calcutta, 1903. 3 vols. Price 18s.

THE report of the results of the Census of India for 1901 prepared by Messrs. Risley and Gait is a most important contribution to our knowledge of the religions and ethnography of the Empire. Mr. Risley, owing to his deputation on other duties, was unable to complete the report. His place was taken by Mr. Gait, who had recently compiled an excellent report on the Census of Bengal, and he, in spite of the obvious difficulties of the situation, has brought the work to a close in a most satisfactory way.

Perhaps the most valuable portion of the report is the admirable disquisition on the Indian dialects by Dr. G. A. Grierson, who has for some years been engaged on the Linguistic Survey. He works out in detail the interesting theory, originally formulated by Dr. Hoernle, that there were at least two Indo-Aryan invasions of India, one preceding the other, by tribes speaking different but closely connected languages. The later body of invaders entered the Panjab like a wedge, and forced their predecessors outwards in three directions—east, south, and west. The inner and later group thus includes the Western Hindi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Panjabi, and the Himalayan dialects, while the outer and earlier division is represented by languages like Kashmiri, Sindhi, Marathi, Oriya, and Assamese.

The chapters on Religion and Ethnography are, in the main, the work of Mr. Risley, and are, as might have been expected, interesting and suggestive. If any criticism of the method may be permitted, it may be said that the elaborate dissertations on the history and general principles of Animism and Fetishism are out of place in a report like this. What we want from the Indian observer is

a simple record of fact; and theorising on these facts may better be left to the arm-chair philosopher of Europe. In dealing with Fetishism Mr. Risley records as a curiosity the worship of office-boxes and ink-pots by the orderlies who carry the Government records to Simla. He might have said that this is the common form of worship of Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, which is carried out in this way in every village school of Bengal.

The survey of the multitudinous religions which prevail throughout the Peninsula is careful and interesting. Jainism, we now know, is not a development of Buddhism; on the contrary, both these sects arose independently about the same time, and represented a reaction against Brahmanic monopoly of the ascetic orders. An interesting account is given of what is supposed to be a survival of Buddhism in Bengal in the form of Dharma worship. It seems doubtful, however, how far this is due to Vaishnava influence, which itself drew much of its inspiration from Buddhism. In the appendix to this chapter will be found a valuable account of the beliefs of the animistic tribes of Bengal.

The chapter on Caste, Tribe, and Race brings together such a mass of material and theory on the ethnography of the country as to make any analysis of it within a limited space impossible. Every student of the subject must consider it as a whole. Scientific opinion in Europe seems to be gradually accepting the conclusion that hitherto excessive stress has been laid on cerebral measurements as a test of race, and that the anthropometry of the future must take account of a much wider collection of physical measurements than those on which Mr. Risley bases his conclusions.

The discussion of the physical characteristics of the people of India is followed by a most instructive dissertation on their division into castes and tribes. There is, perhaps, nothing very startling in the results of the inquiry, but the student has here placed at his disposal a mass of sociological facts of the highest interest, which were up to the present inaccessible in a readable form.

The final result of the investigation may be thus summarised. There are seven main physical types in India, of which the Dravidian alone is possibly indigenous. The Indo-Aryan, Mongoloid, and Turko-Iranian types are, in the main, of foreign origin. The Aryo-Dravidian, Mongolo-Dravidian, and Scytho-Dravidian are formed by the crossing of foreigners with the Dravidians. This crossing inevitably resulted from the physical seclusion of

the Peninsula, where the invaders, except perhaps the first Indo-Aryans, brought few women with them, and took women of the country to wife. Tribes and castes are subdivided into endogamous, exogamous, and hypergamous groups. Of the exogamous groups many are totemistic, and both totemism and exogamy may be traced to the general law of natural selection. The Indian theory of caste was probably derived from Persia. Its origin is an insoluble problem, but the chief factors of influence are probably the correspondence between certain caste gradations and variations of physical type; the development of mixed races from stocks of different colour; lastly, the influence of fiction.

These results may, of course, be modified by the special ethnographical survey now in progress. Meanwhile the present report may be accepted as furnishing a compendium of valuable information on a most tangled problem of ethnology and sociology. In the third volume will be found a collection of monographs on the more interesting tribes and castes, which have formed the material on which the general survey has been prepared. Some of these have previously been printed, but others supply new and valuable material.

W. CROOKE.

THE ESSENTIAL KAFIR. By DUDLEY KIDD. With 100 full-page illustrations from photographs by the Author. London : A. & C. Black. 1904. Pp. xv., 436. Price 18s. net.

If the study of anthropology can be popularised in England by the issue of works whose superb illustrations alone would make the book interesting to every lover of art, Mr. Dudley Kidd deserves well of the Cinderella of sciences. Not only has he produced a work illustrated in a way that one only expects in official publications, where cost is only a secondary consideration (for examples of which we have to look beyond the shores of England), but he has accompanied it by a text which is popular in the best sense of the word. It is a lifelike character-sketch of our black fellow-subjects, based, as all such works, if they are to be successful, should be based, on long personal experience.

Mr. Kidd tells us in his preface that he has not approached his subject from the anthropological point of view, but from that of broad human interest. He has none the less succeeded in producing a book which will appeal to every lover of folklore from its first page to its last. He has, it is true, consulted many works in piecing together his mosaic, and we are unfortunately often left in a state of uncertainty as to what is based on Mr. Kidd's personal testimony and what he has learnt from other English works, a list of which is given at the end of the book, with instructive notes on their value as authorities. In defence of the comparative absence of references Mr. Kidd explains that he has been unable to trace many statements to their original source, and has therefore not stated from what source he himself derived them. It is unfortunate that the share of each author in the work before us is not duly labelled. Let us hope that in a second edition a contribution to science will also be among the author's objects.

The term Kafir has, as Mr. Kidd is aware, no ethnological significance, and merely means infidel (*i.e.*, a disbeliever in Mahomedanism). He has therefore no scruple in extending the meaning of it to include, not only all Bantu people, but also Hottentots and Bushmen. The latter, however, occupy but a small portion of the book.

It is but natural that in a popular work we find no exhaustive discussion of any of the burning questions of anthropology which are raised perhaps without a knowledge that they have been the subject of much controversy. We read for example that Morimo is the god of the Bechuana, but there is no hint that the author has heard of the view which makes Barimo, ancestral spirits, the original object of Bechuana worship, such as it was, and assigns to the singular of this word, Morimo, at any rate in the sense of God, a Christian origin. (But on this point see *Nature*, vol. xlvi., p. 79.) Of Unkulunkulu on the other hand we read that he is probably the generalised ancestor, so to speak, of the race. The Zulus go back in their genealogy about five generations, and then Unkulunkulu makes his appearance in the list. The author supposes that no Zulu can remember the honorific names in his own family for more than five generations, and so gives this name to all older ancestors. The genealogy of tribal chiefs is carried back further, but here too we reach the

Unkulunkulu ; finally we have an Unkulunkulu common to all the Kafirs. Although certain creative functions are assigned to Unkulunkulu, Mr. Kidd accepts Theal's statement that the races with whom he deals had no single Supreme God.

The contention that the memory of the Zulus fails them after a few generations is a surprising one. Not only is it quite inconsistent with the results achieved among the Papuans by Dr. Rider, but Mr. Kidd himself on an earlier page (41) tells us that the Pondos carry back the genealogy of their chief about twenty-three generations, *i.e.*, till about the early sixteenth century, without difficulty and practically without difference of opinion, although the old men who gave this information had probably not thought of the order for fifty or sixty years. One does not see why the average memory should be so much worse. Probably if the statement is correct, the real reason is that the chief's power in the after life is regarded as considerably superior to that of the ordinary man.

Magic and the witch-doctor, the life of the individual from birth to death, war and hunting customs, the arts of peace, and the native legal code are among the other chapters of Mr. Kidd's book, which winds up, so far as folklore is concerned, with a selection of *Märchen*. In dealing with anthropological questions Mr. Kidd is not always very happy. His account of Hlonipa—avoidance—customs is not improved by the inadequate discussion as to its origin ; nor is one's faith in the author's knowledge increased by reading that under a system of polyandry men are at a premium (p. 220).

On the vexed question of cattle marriages Mr. Kidd is in favour of retaining them in the case of non-Christian marriages, and regards them as a real safeguard to the women.

N. W. THOMAS.

GOLD COAST NATIVE INSTITUTIONS. With Thoughts upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti. By CASELY HAYFORD. London: Sweet and Maxwell. 1903.

MR. HAYFORD, being himself a native of the Gold Coast, is an unimpeachable authority on native institutions, while his legal

training in this country enables him to turn this knowledge to practical account in dealing with administrative problems. These problems are the main subject of the volume before us, which should be attentively studied by every one anxious to see the government of our subject races carried on in a just and efficient manner. What chiefly concerns us here is the second chapter, giving a compendious view of native institutions, though interesting information occurs incidentally elsewhere.

The people dealt with in this work are the Ashantis and Fantis, who, though forming separate tribal organisations, are racially one, and speak languages closely akin, if indeed the difference is not merely dialectical. Indeed, Mr. Hayford says (p. 24), "They speak the same language with only a difference of accent." Both nations "once lived in the neighbourhood of the Kong Mountains, and were pressed southwards by external conflicts, and, subsequently, by inter-tribal warfare." But they would seem to have occupied their present territories for at least 400 years. They are usually classed as belonging to the "Negro," in contradistinction to the "Bantu" race; their language, certainly, has no discoverable affinities with those of the latter, and it is provisionally placed in a "Negro" group, which still awaits further elucidation. With regard to customs and institutions, we find many points of similarity; but, in general, those of the Gold Coast have a degree of fixity and definiteness not observable elsewhere. An organised priestly caste, an elaborate system of idol-worship, and the complicated machinery of a despotic government, seem, at first sight, utterly alien to everything we know of Bantu institutions. Yet, if we set aside the influence of a nomenclature adopted when ethnographical science was elementary and uncritical, we shall find, perhaps, that the two have more in common than we had supposed. Into the question of ethnic relationship we cannot enter here. It is a favourite theory that the "Negro" shows the unmixed race type, while the "Bantu" has been alloyed and improved by some admixture—Arab by preference. The late Miss Mary Kingsley, on the other hand, whose acquaintance with the Gold Coast people was somewhat wider than that of writers who generalise from the worst characters gathered about the coast trading-factories, thought the Negro on the whole superior to the Bantu. But of the latter she had only seen some of the outlying north-western tribes between the Cameroons and Ogowe. Wherever the Bantu originally

started from, they would appear to have travelled from the east, in successive waves, westward, and afterwards southward, so that the western members of the family would appear to have been longest settled in their present homes. The Fantis and Ashantis, whether or not they belong to this family, seem to have been living in the 15th century very much where they are now.

Mr. Hayford describes the native state as a kind of federal union owning "allegiance to one central paramount authority, the king properly so called." Thus the King of Kumasi was the paramount ruler of all Ashanti, including the Manpons, the Juabins, the Adansis, and other tribes. On the Gold Coast proper, we have the native states of Fanti, Ahanta, Ga, Wassa, and others; the paramount chief of the "Fanti Union" being the King of Mankessim.

Mr. Hayford says "the office of king is elective." This must be understood in the somewhat restricted sense, that the man who would naturally be the next heir may be passed over if incapable or otherwise objectionable. The king, moreover, may be deposed, and another appointed from the same family, if his rule fails to give satisfaction to his people. The "natural" successor—showing a survival of the matriarchate, as we find it e.g. among the Yaos—would be the "younger uterine brother, cousin, or eldest nephew." But the reigning king frequently nominates his successor, and his wishes are usually respected.

Where anything is known about the Bantu tribal institutions in detail they are found to be substantially the same as the above, allowing for the fuller development of the latter. "The centre and representative of every tribe is the chief, and where a district is inhabited by several tribes of one race, there is one who is paramount chief over all the others."¹ This was the position of the Zulu kings, of Moshesh in Basutoland, of Kreli among the Ama Xosa. But here, as might be expected among tribes which, down to comparatively recent times, were still on the move, the position is apt not to be a permanent one. A conqueror, like Tshaka, or Moshesh, may extend his rule over other tribes besides his own, or, on the other hand, a kingdom may be divided—usually by the secession of some disaffected member of the royal house. Thus,

¹ *The Natives of South Africa*, edited by the S. A. Native Races Committee (1901), p. 23.

among the Thonga states of the Delagoa Bay country mentioned by M. Junod,¹ Mapute is an offshoot of Tembe, and Matolo of Mpumulo.

The Mang'anja of the Shiré Highlands, before their tribal organisation was broken up by the Yaos on the one hand and the Makololo on the other, appear to have been subject to a paramount chief, known as the Lundu or Rundu. But we know little about them before this catastrophe overtook them.

Among the Thonga, as well as the Zulus and the more southerly tribes, it is a *son* (usually the eldest son of the "great," who is not the *first*, wife), and not a brother, who succeeds.

The hierarchy of minor chiefs, councillors, and headmen, described by Mr. Hayford, is found (under different names and usually less clearly defined) in nearly every African tribe which has not been broken up by wars or European influence. The important official known as the "linguist" or "spokesman" (pp. 68-72) may correspond to the Zulu *imbongi*, who is Public Orator, as well as Poet Laureate; but his position appears to be a more confidential and important one, resembling in some respects that of Great Induna or prime minister.

The "Company System" described on pp. 85-92 may be compared with that in force among the Zulus, and erroneously attributed to Tshaka, though no doubt he did a great deal to develop and perfect it; also what M. Junod says (*Les Baronga*, pp. 141, &c.) about the *corvée* (cultivating the chief's land) and the feast of firstfruits. These three matters are all intimately connected. The most important Ronga festival (there are at least two) is that held when the *makanye* fruit, from which beer is made, is ripe, and on this occasion all the warriors of the tribe assemble at the chief's kraal to be "doctored" and dance the war-dance. For the *ukutshwama* of the Zulus, see Colenso's *Zulu-English Dictionary*, p. 580, and Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, pp. 269-272.

The chapter headed "The Fetish System" (pp. 101-108) is exceedingly interesting, but does not tell us all we should like to know. It is evident, however, that the "priests" are merely the doctors and soothsayers whom we find elsewhere under various designations. With the Zulus, the Baronga, and no doubt other

¹ *Grammaire Ronga*, p. 9.

tribes also, the profession requires rigorous training and something like an entrance examination. In some places it may be said to form a guild. The priest appears to combine the knowledge of herbs (which is sometimes a speciality of the *inyanga yemiti*) with the ecstatic frenzy of the *isanusi*. He goes through a three years' apprenticeship, and then enters the corporation to which all the priests in the country belong. In Count Götzen's *Durch Afrika von Ost nach West* there is an interesting account of a medical guild in Usumbwa.

There are many other points in this most interesting book which we should like to examine in detail, did space permit. But, as already implied, valuable as it is to the ethnographer, it should be still more valuable to the practical politician.

A. WERNER.

SUGGESTION UND HYPNOTISMUS IN DER VÖLKERPSYCHOLOGIE.

Von Dr. Med. Otto Stoll. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig, Veit & Co., 1904. Pp. x, 738. Price 16 M.

IT is one of the functions of the science of religions to discuss and determine how religion arose, but with the validity of the basis on which a religion is founded the scientific inquirer, as such, has nothing to do. While therefore we may legitimately examine how far hallucinations and other phenomena, conveniently grouped together under the term psychical, have had a share in the genesis of religion, it is not the business of anthropology to discuss how far such phenomena can be made to fit into any purely materialistic scheme of the universe. On the other hand, materialistic theories of psychical phenomena are equally uncalled for.

Dr. Stoll sets out with the conception, derived from the contemplation of the psychical processes of the individual and of the history of mankind in the mass, of a purely mechanical determinism, but as in this work before us he is concerned to suggest rational explanations of magical practice and belief, of religion and superstition, and of the psychical phenomena of mankind as displayed in history, he has embraced in his field of investigation

the subject matter of the science of religions. He holds that religion, in its widest and most elementary sense of the conception of an invisible world, is a product of suggestion.

By this, owing to the somewhat wide meaning given to the term suggestion, no more is meant than that primitive man reached his idea of the soul by the contemplation of the diverse attributes of the dead and living human body. As a secondary result of this "suggestion" arose the belief in a future life and good and evil spirits, the cult of ancestors, and the various burial customs of savage tribes.

A further series of secondary conceptions arose from the daily alternation of light and darkness. Man is a daylight animal and connects the night with the awesome, the hostile, and the uncanny. Then again, from the primary discovery of the soul is derived the animistic conception of nature and so on. Virtually the whole psychical life of man is for Dr. Stoll described by the blessed word "suggestion," with the result that his book is made up of very heterogeneous elements.

It would not, however, be just to deny him the credit of having produced a highly interesting and in many directions "suggestive" work. He would probably have given us a more detailed and therefore more valuable study if he had confined his attention to savage and barbarous peoples, who have been far too much neglected on the "psychical" side. Dr. Bastian and a few others have shown a sporadic and qualified interest in the spiritualistic phenomena of the lower races, but no field anthropologist has taken up this branch of study even to the extent of investigating the use of narcotics and stimulants, the greater or less susceptibility to hypnotisation, the part played by motor and sensory automatism in religious ceremonies, and all the numerous questions directly connected with the savage doctrine of possession.

Dr. Stoll's classification of the facts on an ethnographical basis renders his treatment somewhat disconnected. It would, for example, have been in many respects an advantage if he had discussed the phenomena of curative magic under one head, of divination under another, and so on, instead of his actual arrangement, which makes it a little difficult, in view of the size of the book, to get a clear idea of the comparative side of the question. This difficulty is increased by the fact that on an average one entry in the index covers one and a half large octavo pages of

print, so that actual search is necessary to unearth passages dealing with the same phenomena among the different races.

It goes without saying that Dr. Stoll has much to tell us on the subject of initiation fasts. He suggests with great probability that the apparent forgetfulness of the initiate on his return to his old life is, in some measure at least, real and of the nature of suggestive amnesia. It cannot be denied that this view throws a good deal of light on various questions of interest. In Australia the food-tabus work out to the advantage of the class of old men, in spite of the fact that the middle-aged are far stronger in numbers and able, if not restrained by fear, to enforce their will. Direct suggestion at the period of initiation may have played its part in making the rules operative.

Many other interesting suggestions are made by Dr. Stoll, for the discussion of which space is lacking. We can only hope that if it reaches a third edition Dr. Stoll will provide it with a better index, and perhaps deal with the phenomena among uncivilised races in a separate work.

N. W. THOMAS.

DAS JENSEITS IM MYTHOS DER HELLENEN. Untersuchungen über antiken Jenseitsglauben. Von L. RADERMACHER.
Bonn : A. Marcus. 1903.

THIS little volume is of interest to English folklorists as indicating to what lengths the younger classical scholars of Germany are prepared to go in the way of utilising existing popular literature for the elucidation of the most archaic Greek mythology ; it is of special interest to myself as dealing with the group of mythic conceptions and fancies studied in the first volume of the *Voyage of Bran*. Mr. Radermacher's constant appeal is to the living folktale ; it is in the light of its fuller presentment that he completes and interprets the antique myth. But his reading has been confined to Northern and East Central European folk-literature. The Celtic material brought together in the *Voyage of Bran* is unknown to him, and he has therefore failed to see the import of much that he observes, and he employs unnecessary energy in breaking in open doors.

The author thus sums up the result of his investigation of the various Greek stories of journeys to the Otherworld (pp. 60-61): Two themes are involved: the hero penetrates to the Otherworld to release a captive mistress, or to win a treasure (magic cattle or steeds, a wonder-working harp, golden apples, &c.) belonging to the chief of the land. At times the Otherworld is a place of gloom and horror; at times it is still the old land of light and of the gods of light.

Now the Irish stories, as will be recollected by readers of my book, describe the Otherworld solely in the latter aspect, and they contain a theme which Mr. Radermacher fails to detect in Greek myth: the hero does not go the Otherworld of his own will in pursuance of a quest to turn to his own advantage, he is summoned, nay constrained, to go thither by the amorous caprice of a goddess. This theme is *not* really absent from Greek myth, as Mr. Radermacher himself shows (pp. 111-112), but he fails to appreciate the significance of the facts he cites. Had he been acquainted with the Irish evidence he would I am sure have recognised that the myths he has studied, though recorded at a far earlier period than the Irish tales, belong in reality to a later and more advanced stage of development.

Mr. Radermacher's investigation of the Jason story would certainly have been modified had he known my discussion of the "escaping couple" theme (*Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, vol. ii., pp. 437-443). On p. 66 he gives a very interesting illustration from a 5th century Attic vase showing Jason swallowed by the dragon and brought up again at the command of Athene. It is noteworthy that in the Gaelic Sea Maiden the hero is likewise swallowed by a sea monster and brought up by the magic playing of the heroine (Campbell, *Popular Tales*, No. 4).

I commend afresh Mr. Radermacher's book to those English scholars who still fancy that there is something "unscientific" in using popular literature, and I would recommend the author to study Celtic mythic romance and what has been done in this country to elucidate it.

ALFRED NUTT.

KELTIC RESEARCHES. Studies in the History and Distribution of the Ancient Goidelic Language and Peoples. By E. W. B. NICHOLSON. London: H. Frowde. 1904.

THIS book deals for the most part with matters outside folklore research proper, but it should receive attention from the student of British folklore because of two theses maintained by the author, which, if correct, seriously modify much current speculation concerning the development of Celtic myth and romance. Bodley's librarian holds that instead of, as commonly believed, the Goidelic branch of the Celts representing the first wave of Keltic immigration driven westward by the later Brythons (*Kymry* is the term he prefers), the reverse is the case. The *Kymry* came first, the *Goidels* later (partly from Spain in consequence of the movements among the Celt-Iberian tribes caused by the Roman conquests of the late 3rd century B.C.). He also holds (refashioning Skene's argument) that the Picts were a Goidelic people, in reality closely allied to the invading Scots, and that Scottish Gaelic is a descendant of Pictish, and not, as commonly held, of the language brought from Ireland by the Dalriadic Scots. As regards this last thesis, one can only say that it explains much that is very difficult to understand otherwise.

Although mainly philological, there are numberless facts scattered throughout Mr. Nicholson's pages which are of moment to students of Keltic folklore.

I cannot refrain from a few remarks suggested by a passage in the writer's preface. Discussing the question of race, he says, "from the statistics of relative nigrescence there is good ground to believe that Lancashire . . . and *part of Sussex* are as Keltic as North Munster . . . while *Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire exceed even this degree and are on a level with South Wales and Ulster*."¹ I am quite prepared to take the author's word for this; but if so, does it not demonstrate the absolute futility of statistics of "relative nigrescence," or, let me add, size of skulls, &c.? The Bucks peasant may be, physiologically, akin to the man from Kerry or Glamorgan; psychically he differs profoundly, and it is the psychical traits that interest me as a folklorist. It is useless to assert that a recognisable English or Celtic type does not exist, because Englishmen and Celts are of all degrees of "relative nigrescence" and of

¹ The italics are mine.—A. N.

varying skull shape. I assert that such types do exist, and have found expression in literature, in institution, in, to use a German term for which there is no plain equivalent in our tongue, *Weltanschauung*, for over 1,000 years at least. The recognition of this fact enables one to understand and appreciate many and various historical phenomena ; whereas statistics of relative nigrescence, &c., leave us little, if any, wiser than would statistics about the number of mince pies eaten at Christmas in different parts of the country.

ALFRED NUTT.

THE CATTLE-RAID OF CUALNGE (TAIN BO CUAILNGE). An old Irish Prose-epic Translated by L. WINIFRED FARADAY, M.A. (Grimm Library.) David Nutt.

AT last the public are to have in their hands full translations of the chief Irish Prose-romance, the Táin Bó Cuailnge. Miss Winifred Faraday comes first with her translation (unfortunately unaccompanied by the text) of the versions from the Yellow Book of Lecan (Y. B. L.) and the Leabhar na h-Uidhre (L. U.), while we hear from another source that the last sheets of Dr. Windisch's long-promised edition of the Book of Leinster version have passed through the press. Thus, in the course of a few weeks, it will be possible to compare the two main versions of the story side by side. From the purely literary point of view, it is perhaps a pity that the Book of Leinster (L. L.) version has not been published first ; it is fuller of detail, more explanatory and more picturesque, and it shows a more poetic sense of the dramatic evolution and sequence of the tale. To give a single example. The Táin or Cattle-raid, which forms the subject of this romance, has been undertaken by Medb, Queen of Connaught, for the purpose of gaining possession of a famous bull owned by a chief of Leinster, and which is coveted by the avaricious Queen. The great number of Irish tales founded on similar themes proves that these romances hail from a period when the country was in a purely pastoral condition, and wealth consisted, not in money or in land, but in cattle and live stock. The acquirement of more cattle was regarded as a fit purpose on which to embark on a lengthy war, and the frequency of these cattle-lifting expeditions must have kept the country in a perpetual state of ferment.

Medb (Maive) is represented as a woman of extraordinary vigour and force of character. She openly prides herself on being the better half, both as regards birth, wealth, and fighting qualities, than her spouse, as before her marriage she boasted herself to have been the noblest in her father's house.

The interesting "bolster-conversation" which forms the prologue to the Táin in L. L., in which Medb sets forth her attainments and her superior position, is not given in the versions followed by Miss Faraday, and the story thus begins without a sufficient explanation, which this conversation provides, of the cause and meaning of the raid. "As regards wage-giving and largesse, I was the best of them," says Medb; "as regards battle, strife, and combat, I was the best of them. Before me went fifteen hundred royal mercenaries from the ranks of the sons of adventurers, and in the centre an equal number of native chieftains' sons. . . ." Medb is Queen of Connaught in her own right; it is she and not her husband who leads the armies of Ireland, and Ailill has to acquiesce in taking the inferior position of a mere prince-consort to his imperious wife.

Now there is, in the Book of Leinster version, a very dramatic contrast drawn between the setting forth of Medb, in all the majesty of a barbarian princess at the head of her armies, and the ignominious rout of their return. This contrast, which is entirely lost in the versions followed by Miss Faraday, shows that the author of the Leinster version had in his mind a well conceived drama, with beginning, middle, and final catastrophe. To use a musical simile, the story presented itself to him not as a Suite but as a Symphony, not as a mere series of disconnected incidents, but as a whole whose parts followed each other in natural and necessary sequence.

For the whole year the hosts of Medb have paraded the north-eastern districts and the centre of Ireland, cut off and harassed at every point by the valour of Cuchulain; finally they break into flight and are driven back in utter rout across the Shannon by the "rising-out" of the men of Ulster. From noon to twilight they fly westward towards their homes, and nothing can restrain them. Imperial Medb, undaunted by defeat, herself undertakes to cover their retreat, and to protect the rear of her army from the troops of Ulster, who have descended into the fray at this late moment in all the ardour of a first onset. But at this crisis, when most she

needs her strength and vigour, this Amazon-Queen, who boasts herself better than a man, is overtaken by the physical weakness of a woman. She is stricken down, and forced to abandon her post of trust and seek rest and shelter behind the host. Here Cuchulain, returning alone from the glorious pursuit, finds her prostrate, ready to crave protection at the hands even of himself, her deadliest enemy. She does not appeal to his chivalry in vain. He not only protects her, and convoys her in safety across the river to rejoin her troops, but he himself takes her post and shields his flying foes from his own army until they have all recrossed the Shannon at Athlone. It is not Cuchulain, her enemy, but Fergus, her lover, who exclaims : "Verily and indeed, the upshot of this day is a fitting outcome of a woman's lead ; for as a brood mare followed by her foals wanders, without choice of path or any fixed design, in a land unknown, such is the plight of this host to-day." This passage, although it could not be literally rendered in English on account of the grotesque and exaggerated language of the original, is in its conception a finely dramatic ending to the story. It reverses the positions that Cuchulain and Medb have held throughout the entire *Táin*. The weakness and youthfulness of the hero are everywhere insisted on ; compared with his natural simplicity and boyishness his feats are regarded as a constant marvel, while the pride and vigour of the Queen-General are equally marked. The sudden break-down of Medb and the fear which makes her appeal to Cuchulain are therefore the more striking. The incident is not without a touch of that grim delight which the mediæval writer always displays when he can drag in a disparaging remark upon a woman, and for which the *Táin* furnishes its compiler with abundant opportunities.

The story has gathered into itself all sorts of material, and it has doubtless grown to its present length by the gradual accumulation of disconnected episodes ; while outside its actual limits it is ushered in by a number of preparatory tales, and by a long account of its discovery after the supposed loss of the main story. The scribe of the L. U. version tells us that several details are omitted which are found in other books. In his mind the story probably presented itself as a series of isolated deeds rather than as a naturally developing whole. It is curious that the oldest form of the tale linguistically should be contained in the latest of the three manuscripts, the Yellow Book of Lecan.

Among the more important variations in this version from that of the Book of Leinster, besides those to which attention has already been drawn, are the additional episodes in Cuchulain's Boy-deeds, the death of Fraech, the discovery of Fergus and Medb by Ailill's charioteer, the meeting of Cuchulain and Findabair. The Ferdiad episode is much briefer, and the pathos of its details is less insisted on. The fight of Calatin's sons and the curious explanation that accompanies it is omitted, and the play on the name of Fiacha is lost ; the deeds of the Boy-corps are twice related, and the healing of Cuchulain after his fight with Ferdiad and many of the succeeding incidents are either omitted in the Y. B. L. version or are considerably shortened. The L. U. copy unfortunately fails for this part of the story, and the final scenes are so briefly told in the Y. B. L. version that it is difficult to realise their importance in the evolution of the story. In several other instances the explanations given in the Book of Leinster are necessary to the understanding of the episode, as, for instance, where Cuchulain kills Medb's waiting-woman, mistaking her for the Queen. This, the L. L. version explains, was because she had put on Medb's "mind," or queenly coronet. In some places the scribe seems to have mistaken the drift of his original ; we can scarcely, for example, imagine the hero Cuchulain employed on a snowy day in "examining his shirt." The later version here says that instead of sleeping to throw off his fatigue, he would be out in the open, refreshing himself by allowing the sun and wind to play upon his naked body—a much more likely method of invigorating himself.

Among the numerous interesting folklore superstitions are the belief in omens (p. 8), the whispering spells over a handful of grass to obtain a beard (p. 76), and the appeal to the elements, on page 45. An interesting expression to denote the heaps of dead after a battle is the "fold of Badb," i.e., the goddess of war (p. 88). We would suggest a correction on p. 121, where Miss Faraday makes Eogan Mac Durthacht "King of Fermoy," which is out of the line of the Táin altogether. Eoghan was a northern prince, and it was he who slew the sons of Usnech. Fearnmháighe is probably the present Barony of Farney in co. Monaghan. Haliday gives it erroneously as Fermanagh.

ELEANOR HULL.

SIR GAWAIN AT THE GRAIL CASTLE. Translated by JESSIE L. WESTON. (*Arthurian Romances unrepresented in Malory's Morte d'Arthur*, No. vi.) London : Nutt. 1903.

THERE are three versions in this little book. The first of them renders one of the best stories in the whole of mediæval romance, from Gautier's continuation of the *Conte du Graal*; the other two, from the German poem of Heinrich von dem Türlin and from the French prose *Lancelot*, are also full of interest. Gautier's story of Gawain's adventures, the lonely chapel, the dark causeway, the castle of the Grail, is translated by Miss Weston from a MS. not yet published, and evidently more original than the text printed in Potvin's edition. Miss Weston in the notes indicates some of its peculiarities, and calls attention in the preface to its very remarkable old-fashioned manner of address—"Seignurs, ensi avons apris": "it is a minstrel's version, a text used by one who recites his verses to a knightly audience"—not a work of the same refined ambition as the poems of Chrestien, but nearer to the popular style of the common English romances, in this respect at any rate. Miss Weston's notes revive an old and still unsatisfied wish for a thorough edition of the *Conte du Graal*.

By some oversight, there is no reference to the pages or lines of Potvin's edition, which may be here supplied. The story begins there in volume iii., p. 351, and ends iv., p. 8. Miss Weston's note, p. 80, may be supplemented with a reference to Potvin, iii., p. 369; v., p. 99. The style of the translation is rather too artificial for the fluent simplicity of the old French; a grammarian may object to the translator's use of "ye" in all cases—"I pray ye," "I will aid ye," "evilly did he slander ye in the queen's bower"—as hardly justified by her English authors. The second story runs better than the first. None of the three is dull, and though Sir Gawain himself on one occasion was sent to sleep by his host telling the story of the Grail, few readers of this book will find it necessary to excuse themselves by his example.

W. P. KER.

ARCHIV FÜR RELIGIONSWISSENSCHAFT Edited by A. DIETERICH and T. ACHELIS. Vol. VII., Prospectheft. Leipzig: Teubner.

THE object of the editors of this excellent quarterly in sending a copy of their *prospectheft* to *Folk-Lore* is doubtless to call the attention of English-speaking students of "folk-religion" to the reorganisation of the *Archiv* on international lines. Professor Dieterich informs me in a private letter that articles or notes may be written in German, English, French, Italian, or Modern Greek; and in the *prospectheft* we have extracts from a very interesting paper written in English on "Sociological hypotheses concerning the position of women in ancient religion" by Dr. Farnell of Oxford. Each number will consist of three sections, one reserved for original articles, another for reports on the work done during the past year in this and that department of the science of religion, and a third for short notes and communications of all sorts. Students will find the contents of the second section of great use. Thus we have from the able pen of Dr. K. Th. Preuss, of the Berlin *Museum für Völkerkunde*, a concise summary of the world's output for 1902 and 1903 on the subject of American religion, a subject which he has made his own. From such a summary one gets a far better idea of where to seek fresh light than from any mere bibliography. Finally, a good word must be said for the *Archiv* on the score of its comprehensive scope. Savage religion, folk-religion, and the religions of civilisation, Semitic, Egyptian, Indian, classical—all these interests receive equal attention at the hands of eminent specialists in its pages, and the international host of co-workers is reminded of the common end to which its multifarious labours tend.

R. R. MARETT.

Folk=Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XV.]

SEPTEMBER, 1904.

[No. III.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 18th, 1904.

Mr. G. Laurence Gomme (VICE-PRESIDENT) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The death of the President, Professor York Powell, was announced, and on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Professor Tylor, and supported by Mr. Clodd, it was unanimously

Resolved

"That the members of the Folk-Lore Society assembled at their Ordinary Meeting in May, 1904, hereby place on record their sense of the loss the historical world has suffered, and the loss which the Folk-Lore Society in particular suffers, by the lamented death of Professor Frederick York Powell, President of the Society, and they beg to lay before Miss Powell and the Professor's mother their expression of the love and respect which they one and all entertained for their late President."

The Secretary read the following Resolution passed by the Council of the Anthropological Institute at their Meeting held on the 4th May, 1904 :

"The Council of the Anthropological Institute having heard with much concern of the death of Professor Frederick York Powell, desires to express its cordial sympathy with the Council and Members of the Folk-Lore Society in the loss of so distinguished a President."

It was resolved that the same be recorded upon the minutes, and that a letter of thanks be forwarded to the Council of the Anthropological Institute.

The election of the following new members was announced viz.: The Carnegie Library, Pittsburg, Mrs. Montague, Miss M. McCaskie, and Miss M. Wilson.

Mrs. Cartwright read a paper on the "Folklore of the Basuto," [p. 244] and exhibited a number of necklaces, costumes, and arm and leg bangles worn by the people, a doll worn on the back by childless women, a pebble charm, and photographs of natives dancing at a race meeting, Bushman's cave paintings, a native doctor in full dress, and other objects of interest. Mr. A. R. Wright also exhibited a Basuto necklace and charm. In the discussion following, Mr. Clodd, Mr. Nutt, Mr. Bouverie Pusey, Mr. Tabor, Miss Hull, Miss Burne, and Mr. Thomas took part.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Cartwright for her paper.

WEDNESDAY, 15th JUNE, 1904.

Mr. A. R. WRIGHT in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Miss B. Rutherford, Mr. H. R. Andorsen, and Captain Foulkes as members of the Society was announced.

Miss Eyre exhibited a number of Burmese dolls, which she presented to the Society, for which a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to her.

The Chairman exhibited the following Tibetan amulets and charms, &c., viz.: (1) a table prayer-wheel, (2) a hand prayer-wheel, (3) a luck flag, (4) a charm ring, (5) a lady's pin with Tibetan symbol, (6) a divining bolt, (7) a thigh-bone trumpet, (8) a skull drum used on the altars of fiend deities and in Mystery plays, (9) Tsa-cha, a rare Tibetan image of a fiend, made of clay and mixed with ashes of a Dalai Lama and ground up for medicine, &c., (10) a rosary of the 16 Sthavira, the apostles of Buddhism, made of peach-stones, and (11) a skull-bone rosary. [See pp. 332-334, and Plates VI. and VII.].

Miss Pamela Colman Smith recited some Annancy Tales as told her in Jamaica, and a discussion followed, in which Miss Burne, Mr. Tabor, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Thomas, and Miss Eyre took part.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Smith for her recitation.

The following books which had been presented to the Society since the April Meeting were laid on the table:

Census of India, vol. i. (Ethnographical Indices, by H. H. Risley), presented by the Government of India; *The American Antiquarian*, vol. xxv., Nos. 3 and 4; *The Indian Antiquary*, vols. xxx. and xxxi.; *The Antiquary*, vols. xxxvii. and xxxviii.; *Schweitzerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, vols. vi. and vii.; and *La Tradition*, 1903, vol. xvii.

FOLKLOKE OF THE BASUTO.

BY MINNIE CARTWRIGHT (*née* MARTIN).¹

(*Read at Meeting, 18th May, 1904.*)

IN olden days a certain portion of the Basuto were cannibals, but it is supposed they originally became so from starvation rather than from choice. Our groom's father had been a cannibal, and had "eaten of the white man's heart," but no persuasions of mine would induce the old man to tell me anything about it. He was evidently afraid to speak, and I only heard about it from his son, who seemed rather proud to possess such a father. When first we were stationed at Thlotsi Heights, in the north of Basutoland, an old woman lived there who in her girlhood had a wonderful escape from a small band of cannibals. In those days she was fat and young, a truly tempting object, and one day she was all alone, walking from her home to the "lands." The three cannibals seized and bound her, and carried her off to their lair. There they amputated both little finger top joints and removed her upper lip, then placing her in a pot of warm water they left her to bleed to death while they went to collect fuel; but she, happening to be a particularly robust, determined damsel, managed to free herself from her bonds and escaped to her home, where her wounds were attended to and she quickly recovered. Many years after, as she was preparing the porridge for breakfast, outside her hut, two old men came up and asked for food. She looked up, recognised them as two of her former captors, and gave them breakfast, afterwards pointing out the marks of their cruelty to her and telling them who she was.

¹ See vol. xiv., pp. 204, 415.

The spot where she was caught proved the death-trap of many a poor victim, and is now believed to be haunted. Very few Basuto are brave enough to pass there after dark. Strange tales have been told by those who have done so. Shadowy forms have been seen seated in a ring, and the sound of their voices chanting weird songs, has been heard, while from the centre of the ring smoke has been seen to arise, and even the cries and groans of the victims have been heard. A horseman, too, has been seen to ride up in haste, though no sound of hoofs has disturbed the night ; but on his approach the ghostly company has dispersed. Soon after we went to Leribe, and long before I knew anything of this mysterious horseman, my husband and I were returning home after dark one evening on horseback through this identical pass. The moon shone fitfully through the hurrying clouds, and a damp mist was rising from the marshy ground. While our horses were walking through the soft ground at the bottom of the pass I looked up and saw what I took to be a native riding a grey horse. I asked my husband what a Mosuto was doing, riding in such a nasty part at that time of night ; but as he saw no one, and we neither of us heard any sound, I concluded I had been mistaken, and thought no more of it until three years later, when for the first time I heard the story of the ghostly rider. I have been shown one or two other spots which are visited in a similar manner by "ghosts," and which are known to have been the haunts of cannibals. In the north of Basutoland there still live two old people, a man and a woman, between whom no connection or relationship exists, but each has been in youth a cannibal, and in the eyes of the Basuto they are each branded with the evidence of their crimes, for each has white spots on the skin which are gradually increasing in size—a sure sign in the eyes of the people of cannibalism, as these spots were not there in childhood nor yet in

middle age. Very few Basuto have been known to bear this "hall-mark." It is very peculiar, generally beginning as a small round white mark, not as big as a marble, which increases in size and is joined by others until it is supposed to resemble a white hand.

Some sort of belief in the transmigration of souls is evidently indulged in by the Basuto, for they will tell you that such and such a snake is inhabited by so and so's grandfather. Especially do they believe that the spirits of the departed take up for a time their abode in the bodies of cattle, which are called "the spirits (*melimo*) of the wet noses."

The efficacy of charms is firmly believed in. Certain portions of animals or human beings ward off the evil spirit or give courage or special strength, or again others endow with "second sight." The charms are worn on the body; the portions of flesh are burnt, then ground to a fine powder, mixed with some marvellous concoctions by the "Medicine Man," and drunk by those desirous of receiving the special quality it bestows. In the old days much wealth could be amassed by the medicine-men out of the heart of a white man, the people believing that to drink medicine made from it would endow them with the courage and mental abilities of *le khuoa* (the white man). The Basuto still believe in witchcraft, in throwing the bones, in ghosts, in evil water spirits, and in the "evil eye." Their traditions are handed down from generation to generation by men whose duty it is to learn all the folklore, history, superstitions, and customs of their race. They believe that their doctors can find out anything, and can call down the lightning god's wrath upon any individual who, unless he is able to propitiate the deity, will be struck by lightning ere many days pass.

Near Thlotse Heights there lived an old 'Ngaka (doctor) who once did me a very real service. On several occasions we had been visited by thieves. First of all my husband's

hut was despoiled of a considerable amount of clothing one evening while we were at dinner. Then my store hut was invaded on two separate occasions. All our efforts to trace the thieves were unavailing, so, without consulting my husband, I sent for old 'Mputing, and asked him to find the thieves for me. He volunteered to "doctor" me so that no one should be able to steal from me again. I consented, and, calling the servants, went outside to the store hut. One or two individuals had followed the "doctor," and our assembly was augmented by a couple of neighbouring servants. I opened the store hut door and stood by the old "doctor" at the entrance. He called for a vessel full of clear water into which he threw several pebbles, making mystic signs over them. These he made me take out and place on the side of the vessel, after which he told me to place it as it was on a shelf in the store hut, and to leave it for three sunrises, after which I might throw away the water, but I must keep the pebbles always, as they were charms. He then drew a circle round me, bade me bare my left arm up to the shoulder, and with many signs and incantations he proceeded to scratch my arm just below the shoulder and round the wrist with a wonderful looking instrument which he dipped into a nasty sticky dark substance. This I was forbidden to wash until it had thoroughly dried, and it was some days ere it completely disappeared. The next item in the programme was "throwing the bones." I stood in the centre of the mystic ring with the old doctor kneeling or rather crouching in front of me, and facing our most interested and impressed audience. The bones were "thrown" inside the circle. I was then told that my treatment was completed, and that henceforth I should be under the protection of the lightning god. 'Mputing then solemnly warned the onlookers that they or anyone else would meet with a speedy death if they tried again to rob me; then picking up his bag he bade me *lumela* (good-day), and departed to the village to warn

others. From that day I have never been troubled by thieves.

One of the most picturesque scenes imaginable is the setting forth of a large herd of cattle every autumn from the villages in the valleys on their way to the fertile table lands of the mountains, where they are sent to winter. The herd boys pack up enough meal, salt, mealies, and Kaffir corn to last for their own use through the winter, and securely fasten these provisions on the backs of the "pack" oxen, which are kept separate from the rest of the herd, and are looked after by the younger boys of the party, who generally ride them, guiding them by hitting the horns. The older herds then take up their musical instruments which they play, leading the way and followed by the whole herd of cattle, and accompanied by several dogs. The pack oxen and boys bring up the rear. They never hurry, the cattle graze as they go, finding abundant pasture by the way.

At Butha-Buthe, in the north, there is a piece of swampy ground which, to the ordinary observer, seems merely a good place for ducks and frogs, yet to the native inhabitants of the country it is more or less sacred ground, for one spot in it is inhabited by a spirit. Some years ago, without any apparent reason, smoke was seen issuing from this *Khapong* as it is called. No one had set it alight, no sign of human interference could be found, nor did the ground consume away, yet, night and day, through rain and sunshine, for three whole months this streak of smoke was seen to ascend from the self-same spot with never even the smallest tongue of flame to be seen; consequently it came to be regarded as the abode of the Spirit¹ of Maternity,

¹ Sesuto, *Molimo*. "Molimo" is the singular, and is always used by Christian Basuto to represent God, and frequently by the heathen, when speaking of the Supreme Power whom they evidently believe in. *Melimo* is the plural, and is used with reference to supernatural spirits. I am extremely sorry that I cannot more fully explain the word *Molimo*, but I am trying to extort a definition from an old Mosuto, and sincerely hope I may be

and hither from time to time come old and young with offerings of bead-work, money, food, dolls, &c., hoping by these gifts to propitiate the spirit within and to receive a favourable answer to their prayers.

Once while we were stationed at Butha-Buthe there was great excitement amongst the people, for the streak of smoke was again seen slowly ascending from the *Khapong*. It was a pouring wet day, when one would have found it impossible to light a fire out of doors, yet the rain had no effect on this mysterious fire. My servants called me to look, and there most certainly, most unmistakably it was—a thin column of smoke steadily mounting towards the clouds; but on this occasion it only lasted a few hours, during which time it was far too wet for me to venture down to investigate. Afterwards I thoroughly searched the place with my husband, but beyond seeing a small strip of black peat-like soil on the edge of a small slit, and finding money, bangles, beads, and clay dolls laid underneath a projecting piece of the bank, I saw nothing. There was absolutely no trace of a fire. Some of the dolls had evidently been lying there for years. There are several similar spots in various other parts of the country.

The customs with regard to a woman's first child are decidedly quaint. The wife must leave her husband's house fully a month before the expected arrival of the child, as it must be born in the home of its maternal grandparents, otherwise it will not live to grow up. If the infant should be a boy the rejoicings are judiciously mixed with regret. The news-carriers start at once to carry the news to the father, who has remained at his own village. Upon arriving at their destination they attack the unsuspecting successful, though it is very difficult to get an ordinary Mosuto to understand the two English words "God" and "Spirit." Perhaps I should have been wiser had I used the term "God of Maternity," instead of "Spirit of Maternity," but in translating it for me the native made use of the word "Spirit," thus to my mind showing that he understood some difference existed, though he could not explain to me where the difference lay.

man and beat him vigorously with their sticks. No word is spoken, but the unlucky man at once understands he is the father of a male child instead of the eagerly-hoped-for daughter. Naturally he is disappointed, but after all a boy is better than no child, and the spirits may be kind and give him a daughter next time.

If, on the other hand, the infant is a girl, there is great rejoicing.¹ The news-carriers hurry off to inform the father. Great caution is observed as they approach the village lest he should see them coming. This time the messengers arm themselves with a pot of water, which they throw over the happy father, who immediately receives the congratulations of his friends. The water is supposed to act as a wholesome damper upon his joy, lest the good news might prove too great a shock.

It is not considered correct for the man to visit his wife and child, but when the latter is a month old the woman returns to her husband, bringing the baby with her. Basuto women often nurse their babies for eighteen months. When the first baby is weaned the mother takes it back to her parents, to whom it will belong in future; the actual parents no longer retain any claim upon it, nor, should it be a girl, do they receive the dowry upon her marriage; that also belongs to the maternal grandparents.²

Should a doctor be called in at the birth of a child, the mother can neither wean it nor shave its head until the doctor has given his consent. Usually the infant's head is shaved on the second day after birth.

When other children are born there is no need for the mother to leave her husband's house, as no evil is likely to

¹ Because she will on her marriage bring a dowry of so many head of cattle to the family, while a boy will correspondingly impoverish it.

² I do not know whether there is any antagonistic feeling between son-in-law and mother-in-law, or any etiquette which demands that such a feeling should exist, but I should imagine not. I have certainly seen great friendliness on both sides.

attend their birth such as threatened the birth of the first-born. In all cases where no doctor has attended the actual birth, the father, whether absent or present, has complete control over the child, and no step can be taken without first consulting him, consequently sometimes rather strange complications arise. For instance, numbers of Basuto leave the country every year to find work in the mines and on the railways. Many of them are married men with young children. Suppose a man left a wife and baby a few months old behind him, his wife must not wean the child until he returns. The result is that every now and then one comes across quite big children, able to run about and even to talk, who are still unweaned, and, when asked, the mother will reply, "My husband has not yet returned."

Should a woman die while her child is still too young to be fed with a spoon, a sheep or goat is killed, and the windpipe, thoroughly cleansed, is used as a feeding tube, down which the milk is slowly poured into the child's throat. Sometimes a female goat in milk is procured, and the child taught to drink from its udder. In these cases the goats become more attached to their foster-children than to their own offspring, and will return at regular intervals to the hut to suckle the child. It is a strange sight to watch a goat run bleating to the door of a hut out of which crawls a fat brown baby, over whom she rejoices as if it were her own, lying down contentedly to allow it to drink until, thoroughly satisfied, the child retires to sleep, when the goat trots off to graze near by, returning again to her charge in a few hours.¹

When a youth wishes to marry he does not go to his father and ask for a wife. Such a course of action would

¹ A woman whom I knew well very nearly died when her first baby was born. Her parents asked the English doctor to attend her, which he did until he found that native doctors were also in attendance, when he declined to have anything more to do with the case, as, had she died, *he* would have been

be most disrespectful. No; he gets up very early one morning and takes his father's cattle out to pasture without milking the cows, letting the calves run with their mothers and drink all the milk. No notice is taken of this, so he continues to act thus for thirty days. His bœon companions desert him and nickname him "silly one." On the thirtieth day his father says, "Surely my son must want to get married." This remark is repeated to the son, and he ceases to deprive his family of milk, but on that day he must do all the milking unaided, and must convert the milk into butter, which his mother boils and puts into a new pot, and keeps to anoint the bridegroom's face. No questions are asked as to which dusky beauty the youth desires to marry. If the wife chosen by his father does not happen to be the lady of his heart, he is at liberty to choose a second wife for himself as soon as he is in a position to pay the dowry, or persuade his father to pay it for him, for when he is a married man he is on an equality with his father and can consult him as an equal.

After the episode of the cattle the youth's father will select a girl and go and talk over matters with her father. After they have agreed as to the number of cattle required for the dowry, a month is allowed to elapse at the end of which time the cattle are chosen, and the bridegroom's father prepares a small feast, the mother makes a large quantity of "leting" or mild beer, and all the friends and relations on *his* side regale themselves. The bridegroom then takes out the remaining cattle to pasture, while his father and male friends start off with the dowry. Before they come too near the bride's village they pick out two animals, a young bull and a heifer, to represent the bridegroom's

blamed for her death. In despair her parents came to me, and out of pity for the woman I did what I could to help her. After about three weeks she so far recovered as to be able to sit up. Then one night she was secretly removed to a cave, in order to break the evil spell which had been cast over her in the hut. The hut was then purified, and shortly after she was brought back.

parents; these are driven at a gallop through the village into the cattle kraal. This is supposed to represent the eagerness of the parents to welcome their new daughter.

The remaining cattle are driven slowly along, the herds lustily singing the Basuto wedding-song; a sort of chant, the words expressing the joy felt by all the family that the son should have obtained so charming a wife. These cattle on reaching the village are also driven into the kraal. All the relations and friends of the bride then seat themselves on one side of the entrance to the kraal while the bridegroom's procession arrange themselves on the opposite side. For a short time dead silence prevails, until the bride's father joins the party and greets the visitors, after which everyone is allowed to talk. The bull and heifer are then driven out and commented upon, very fulsome compliments being exchanged. No girls are allowed to be seen anywhere about, and the bride must be shut up in her father's hut, her mother being kept a prisoner in another hut by herself.

After a few pleasantries the bride's father goes to tell his wife his opinion of the cattle. He then calls for *Juala* (strong beer), the first potful being given to the two men who drove the bull and heifer. After they have drunk as much as they can, they say—

"We are coming to borrow a cup of water for our son." "How many cattle have you brought?" asks the bride's father. They reply, "Thirty," or whatever the number may be. The cattle are then counted, and everyone drinks again. The bridegroom's friends then begin dancing, and all the girls of the village join the feast, with the exception of the bride and three chosen companions. Dancing continues more or less during the whole night. The next morning the bride's father chooses his fattest ox and has it killed, thus showing that the marriage contract is completed. The dewlap is cut off and divided into two strips, one of which is bound round the bride's wrist and the other sent

to adorn the bridegroom's wrist, thus signifying that they are now bound to each other. The bridegroom's father then kills an ox, the skin of which is given to the bride's mother. The feasting and merry-making continue yet another day, after which the bridegroom's procession returns home, and from then for a period of from one to three months the bridegroom continues to herd his father's cattle, and life goes on much as usual, except that the father and mother set about preparing their son's future home. At length the bride sets out for her new home, accompanied by two girl friends and two old women. On leaving home she must not say good-bye to her parents, nor must she speak or look back until she reaches her husband's village. To look back would show regret and be an insult to her lord. Silence is enjoined, because her first words must be her greeting to her husband. As a rule a number of girls accompany her part of the way, laughing and singing and doing all in their power to make her speak or look back.

When the party are well within sight of the bridegroom's home the old women seat themselves on the ground, and decline to proceed until some suitable gift has been presented to them. This generally takes the form of a sheep or goat. As soon as the sun sets the bride enters the village and is conducted to her mother-in-law's hut. She and her four companions must remain silent, nor must they accept any refreshment until the bridegroom's father has offered them a portion of roasted sheep. Numbers of wedding guests assemble, and feasting and singing continue all night. In the morning the bride's friends return home. Meanwhile the bridegroom endeavours by every means in his power to see and speak to his wife, but on no account must others see him near the hut during the month which follows, consequently he creeps round the *scherm*¹ when-

¹ *Scherm*, the fence bounding the enclosure round the hut. It is made of reeds strapped together with grass-rope, and is generally in the shape of a semicircle. A reed door in the middle admits into the interior.

ever he can get away from observation, and should he be fortunate enough to find his wife alone, he crawls in and talks to her in low tones, while she, seeing him enter in that manner, knows it is her husband, and immediately begins grinding grain, from which she must not cease while he is in the hut. During this month she is instructed in all household work by her mother-in-law, and carries water from the well for household use, but while going to and from the well she must neither speak nor turn her head, no matter who may accost her. All this time remarks are freely made in her presence as to her attractions, or lack of such, and very outspoken those remarks often are. When the month of probation is ended she is taken to her own hut and freed from all restrictions. Some little time after she has married and settled down she will take her pitcher early one morning to the well, break it, and leave the broken pieces where they will be seen. Then, instead of returning home, she will run away to her parents. Some of the women in her husband's village will inform him that his wife's pitcher lies broken at the well, and that she is nowhere to be found. He will feign great grief and tell all his friends. Meanwhile his wife's mother will make her a new pitcher, and when it is ready the woman will return to her husband.

Another item which may be of some interest is the fact that Basuto women possess property of their own. When a woman marries a hut is given to her, of which she is undisputed mistress. It may be only a very bare little apartment, but it is her own; no one can even enter it without her consent. Sometimes she is also given a number of goats or sheep; more frequently the pigs and fowls are her property, and women have even been known to possess one or two cows.

I hope no one will be shocked if I now describe the death practices. They are not nice, but they are a part of the nation. When it is seen that death is near, the sick person

is taken out of the hut, if it is at all possible to remove him without causing instant death, as the spirits obtain easier access to the *Scherm* than to the interior of the hut. A hole is cut in the *Scherm* to enable the spirits¹ to enter, as they cannot do so through the doorway of mortals. The friends of the dying man then take leave of him and seat themselves outside the *Scherm* to await the end. Two old women, blood-relations of the family, now take charge of the invalid. These heartless creatures resort to the most barbarous acts, which one really cannot fully describe. Suffice it to say that ere life is extinct they place their victim in the recognisedly correct posture, namely in an upright position with the knees drawn up towards the chin and the arms bent from the elbow, the hands resting under the chin. They then bind him securely so that he cannot move his limbs. In cases where the patient is becoming stiff before he is bound up, hot water is poured constantly over the joints to keep them supple. Where death has been unexpected and the limbs are too set to bend, the sinews are severed at the elbows, knees, and hips in order to be able to place the dead in the correct position for burial.²

As soon as death has occurred a skin is thrown over the corpse, and is not allowed to be lifted off it again. The old women then begin a dismal wailing cry which tells the watchers outside that all is over. They immediately throw ashes on their heads and join in the weeping, placing their hands on their bowed heads and prostrating themselves before the dead. All friends are then summoned, and each brings a present of grain for the departed, on his journey. They then kill an ox as a sacrifice, which is cooked after

¹ Sesuto, *Melino*.

² An old heathen doctor talking to me on the subject of the resurrection said, "Yes, but you white people are stupid. You put your dead ones lying down in the grave, so when the great call comes you will all be late, but we put our dead ones sitting up ready for the call." They bury their dead facing the east.

dark. The mourners weep, and gird their loins with strips of hard hide. Very little talking is allowed, the only permissible subject being the good deeds and noble qualities of the deceased.

After dark a few of the nearest male relatives set off to dig the grave, which is a circular hole about four feet deep. The old men are buried near the cattle kraal, the women and children on a hill within sight of the kraal, but not too near. The doctor is called to pray for clouds that the night may become very dark. Shortly before midnight the corpse is carried, still wrapped in the skin, and placed at the entrance to the cattle kraal, which is left open all night, as he alone must guard the cattle on this his first night in the spirit world. Just before dawn he is placed in his grave with the grain, a small piece of meat, salt, and *leting*; and a large stone, as nearly the size of the grave as can be procured, is placed in the aperture. I forgot to mention that Basuto are buried into a sort of shelf, so the stone does not actually rest on the dead body. The grave is then filled up with earth and stones, on the top of this is placed the entrails of the sacrificial ox, and the mourners depart. They then return to the dead man's hut, when the sacrificial meat is divided between them, but before eating they wash themselves, and the near relations of the deceased fasten a piece of fat from the entrails round their neck as a symbol of mourning. In eating the meat great care is taken that no bones are thrown away or given to the dogs; they must be carefully collected and burnt, while the mourners stand round and cry, "*Molimo ea-roona* (our great spirit), hear us, oh! hear us we pray, and receive this dead brother in peace. There is a light to our grandfather's father. May the old Molimo pray to the new Molimo for us."¹

¹ While at Butha-Buthe I went to see a dying child, the daughter of a heathen policeman. The man had only just joined the force, and knew nothing of Christianity. As the end drew near I felt impelled to say something to the child (she was only four years old), so, bending over her, I said in Sesuto,

The poles of the dead man's hut are then pulled out, as no one must live there again. Should any one be so heartless as not to cry at the funeral, the spirits become enraged, and visit him with some terrible sickness as a punishment for his hardness of heart.

Amongst the older and less civilised Basuto there is a strong disinclination to mention the dead by name. Young people too, as a rule, give each other nicknames by which they are known to their companions. Also, when a woman becomes a mother, she is no longer known by her former name, but is called "Mother of so and so;" thus, if the child's name Thibello, the mother will be called Me-go-a-Thibello (pronounced Ma-Tibello), and no matter how many children she may have afterwards she is always known as Me-go-a Thibello. The man on the other hand, though he is known as "Ra-go Thibello," or father of Thibello, still retains and is called by his former name.

I must now tell you who and what "Thokolosi" is and how I came to see him. There is in Basutoland a little creature of whom all stand in awe. He is not much bigger than a baboon, but possesses no tail, and is perfectly black in colour, with a quantity of black hair on his body. He shuns the daylight and abhors clothing even in the coldest weather. Such is Thokolosi the poisoner, the evil one, whose deeds of cruelty are even now told all over the country. He has power to kill, to send mad, to injure, to

"Little one, are you better? You are not afraid, are you?" "Oh, no," she replied, while a little smile came to her lips; "I am not afraid. Molimo will take care of me." She died a couple of hours later. It is very difficult to get to the root of a Mosuto's belief. In the more civilised parts Christianity has become so mixed up with the heathen beliefs that there is no reliable information to be found there; but in the remoter regions the heathen are still untouched, and I have gathered my information as much as possible from the latter. Of course some are more ignorant of their own belief than others, just as in civilised countries knowledge of the religion and historical traditions of their race varies with the individual. This may account for seeming discrepancies in the statements of their belief.

torture, and to visit with unknown horrors, but to do good is beyond his power or inclination. He is generally employed by the witch-doctor. He hunts down his victim remorselessly until his object is accomplished. If by any unfortunate chance you meet him at night you must pass him silently and as though you saw him not. Some years ago, before I knew of the existence of this little creature, I was obliged to go down to our cow-shed at the bottom of the garden one night just before bedtime. The moon was nearly full and was shining brightly at the time. I was accompanied by our nurse-girl and our big black retriever. Nothing happened on the way down, and to my great relief I found the cows still quite well (rinderpest was raging through the country at the time), but as we were returning we suddenly heard what I thought was a dog running through the Residency garden towards us. There were a lot of dead leaves on the ground, and the creature's feet regularly rustled through them. I had barely said, "What's that?" when we heard the "ping" of the wire fence which divided the two gardens, and saw, crossing the path not a dozen yards in front of us, a little black creature about the size and shape of a boy of six. There was no mistaking the fact that it was a human form of some sort. It ran with a peculiar shuffle, moving its head from side to side. When my girl saw it she caught hold of me in terror, but uttered no word. The dog, on the contrary, gave vent to a sound, half bark, half howl, and tore off to the house, where we found him hiding under my little son's bed, thoroughly frightened. In this manner I made the acquaintance of Thokolosi. Of course my husband laughed at me and declared I had seen a baboon, but even he could not account for the dog's state of terror. The poor brute absolutely refused to come out from under the bed where he had taken refuge. Shortly afterwards the dogs in the Residency garden took to howling in the most terrible way every evening; the policeman who

was on guard, and who slept every night on the Residency verandah, came and implored my husband to let him sleep inside the house, as Thokolosi was always in the garden at night, and he really was too frightened to stay outside. After about a week all was quiet again. Thokolosi had evidently taken himself off. My own impression is that Thokolosi is in all probability a very small Bushman employed by the witch-doctors, and that the superstitions about him have been originated and kept alive by these doctors to enable them to carry on their magic. The body is no doubt stained black to disguise the little creature.

The following is one of the folktales which my nurse girl translated for me. I have chosen this one to relate here as it in some ways tells of doings contrary to the national ideas of etiquette, inasmuch as the hero *asks* his father for a wife, thus breaking the rule universally acknowledged by the Basuto, *i.e.*, that no youth must ever *ask*, save by signs, for a wife, nor must he so far forget the respect due to his father as to mention *which* maid he desires to marry. Both these rules are, as you will see, broken by Tsui.

THE MAID AND HER SNAKE-LOVER.

When the fathers of our fathers were children, there lived in the valley of the rivers two chiefs; the name of the one was Mopeli and the name of the other was Khosi.

Now Mopeli had a son whom he loved as his own heart, a youth tall and brave and fearless as the lion. To him was given the name of Tsui. When Tsui was able to stand alone and to play on the mat in front of his father's dwelling, a daughter was born to the chief Khosi, to whom was given the name of Tebogo. The years passed and Tsui and Tebogo grew and thrived. Often Tsui drove his father's

cattle down towards the lands where Tebogo and her father's maidens worked, and many happy days were spent while the love of Tsui and of Tebogo grew greater even as they themselves grew older.

When the time came for Tsui to take a wife he went to his father and asked that Tebogo might be given him. Gladly the fathers consented, and preparations were made for the marriage.

Now Tebogo had another lover upon whom she looked with scorn, but who had sworn that never should she be the wife of Tsui ; so he consulted a witch-doctor, who promised to help him. Imagine his joy when, before the marriage feast had begun, he heard that Tsui had disappeared. "Now," thought he, "Tebogo shall be my wife," but the maiden turned from him with anger in her heart, nor would her parents listen to him. Meanwhile the spirit of desolation hung over the home of the Chief Mopeli. "My son, my son," cried the unhappy father ; but no voice replied, no son came back to gladden his father's heart.

When the moon had again grown great in the heavens an old man came to the village of Mopeli and called the chief to him. Long they talked and greatly the people wondered. At length they stood up and, saluting each other, parted at the door of the chief's dwelling. Mopeli then set out for the village of Chief Khosi, where he remained all night. The next day he returned to his own village and ordered his people to prepare a great feast.

In the village of Chief Khosi also much wonder filled the people, for they also were commanded to make ready a marriage feast for the chief's daughter ; the lovely Tebogo was to be married, but people knew not to whom. Chief Khosi called his daughter and said, "My child, your lover Tsui has been taken away, so it is my wish that you should marry one who has pleased my eyes."

"Tell me, my father" replied Tebogo, "who is this man you have chosen for me? Only tell me his name."

"No, my child, that I cannot do," answered Khosi. Behold then her horror when she was brought forth to meet her bridegroom, to find, not a man, but a snake. All the people cried "shame" upon the parents who could be so cruel as to wed their child to a snake.

With cries and tears Tebogo implored her father to spare her; it did not matter. She was told to take her snake husband to the new hut which had been built for them near the large water where the cattle drank. Trembling she obeyed, followed by her maidens, the snake crawling by her side. When she entered the hut she tried to shut out the snake, but it pushed half its body through the door and so frightened her that she ran to the other end of the hut. The snake followed and began beating her with its tail till she ran away to the trees which grew by the water (pool). An old doctor was sitting there, and to him she told her trouble.

"My daughter," he said, "return to your hut. Do not let the snake see you. Close the door very softly and set fire to the hut. When it is all burnt you will find the ashes of the snake in a heap in the centre of the hut. Bring them here and throw them into the water."

Tebogo did as the old doctor told her. While the hut was burning people ran from the two villages to see; but Tebogo called to them to keep away for she was burning the snake. When all was destroyed, she took the ashes of the snake, put them into a pitcher, and ran and threw them into the pool. No sooner had she done so than from out of the water came, not a snake, but her lover Tsiu. With a glad cry she flung herself into his arms and a great shout came from all the people.

As the lightning darts across the heaven so the news of Tsiu's return spread from hut to hut. The story of how he had been made a snake and banished to the pool until

he could find a maiden whose father would give her to him in marriage, and of how the good old doctor 'Nto had revealed the secret to Mopeli, Tsiu told quickly. For many days there was feasting in the homes of Mopeli and Khosi, while in the hearts of Tsiu and Tebogo his bride dwelt a great content, but the wicked one ran to the mountains where he thought long of how he could revenge himself.

MINNIE CARTWRIGHT.

THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

IN a series of six articles contributed to *The Classical Review*, 1903-1904, under the title of "Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak," I attempted to determine the original character of the chief Græco-Italic deity and the nature of his cult. The materials that I accumulated for this purpose, when pieced together, formed a reconstruction so unorthodox in its outlines that I should have hesitated to publish it, had I not found that in several important points it agreed well with the main argument of Dr. Frazer's *Golden Bough*. Encouraged by this support I pushed on; and further study has convinced me that my conclusions with regard to Zeus and Jupiter hold good for the corresponding gods of the Celtic, the Germanic, and the Letto-Slavonic peoples, if not for those of all branches of the Indo-European stock. I must, however, at the outset frankly confess that beyond the limits of the classical field I have no claim to speak as an expert. Scholars who have specialised in any of the mythologies of northern Europe will, I doubt not, find much to criticise in my remarks. Indeed, it is precisely in order to "draw the fire" of such criticism and thus to test the validity of my hypothesis that I have ventured to put pen to paper. I propose, first to restate (with some modifications) my general conclusions with respect to the ancient Greeks and Italians, and then to deal with apparently similar phenomena among the Celts, Germans, Slavs, &c., in each case considering how far cults evidenced by the literature or the monuments or both afford a real analogy to the results obtained in the Græco-Italic area.

THE GREEKS.

The supreme deity of the Greeks was essentially a sky-god.¹ As such he was called the "Bright" One, his name *Zeūs* being referable to a root that means "to shine" and implies the "daylight."² Thus—to give but one example—the *Iliad* links together "the clear air and the rays of Zeus," where, as the scholiast *ad loc.* observes, by "the rays of Zeus" the poet means the sky.³ Empedocles⁴ speaks of elemental fire as *Zeūs ἀπύξις*, *i.e.*, "Zeus the brilliant"; and it is probable that Argus, a hero who figures largely in Greek mythology,⁵ was at bottom none other than the "Brilliant" sky-god.⁶

This primary conception of Zeus as a sky-god developed in two secondary directions. On the one hand, the sky is

¹ See e.g. Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, p. 115 ff., Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie u. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 1100 ff.

² O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, p. 670, K. Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, p. 312, *alib.* Two misleading explanations may here be noted. (1) E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, pp. 182, 220, holds that *Zeūs* denotes properly the "hurler" or "discharger" of rays (*cp.* H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, p. 600, *s.v.* *div*) and infers that he must have been the lightning-god, not as is commonly supposed the god of bright daylight. But the frequent use of the word *dyaus* in the Rig-veda for "sky" or "day" (A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 21) and the existence of the Latin *dies* beside *Diespiter* are conclusive in favour of the common view. (2) Against Dr. Frazer's suggestion (*The Golden Bough*,² iii. 456 f.) that Zeus was named "Bright" as being the oak-god, *i.e.* god of the tree whose wood was used in fire-making, I have elsewhere protested (*Class. Rev.*, xvi. 372), as has Gruppe (*op. cit.* p. 1100, n. 2).

³ *Il.*, i. 837 with schol. B.

⁴ Emped. *frag.* 6 *Diels.*

⁵ Argus the builder of the ship Argo is identified with Argus Πανόρτης, the eponym of Argos, by Jessen (Roscher, *Lexikon der Griechischen u. Römischen Mythologie*, iii. 1549) and Wernicke (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ii. 797 f.).

⁶ *Class. Rev.*, xviii. 75, 82. The adjective *ἀπύξις* denotes "brilliant."

not always bright and brilliant. As the rustic Corydon puts it in an idyll of Theocritus :⁷

χώ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἰθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει.

Ay, Zeus is sometimes fine and sometimes wet.

Hence the Greeks at a very early date extended the notion of Zeus as a bright sky-god to cover that of Zeus as a weather god.⁸ The man in the street said : “Zeus rains,” “Zeus snows,” “Zeus sends the hail.”⁹ The minstrel in the palace-hall was ready with high-sounding epithets : “He of the dark clouds” (*κελαινεφής*), “He that rumbleth aloud” (*έργυδουπος*), “He that hurleth the thunderbolt” (*τερπικέραινος*). In various localities Zeus was worshipped under special weather-titles, e.g. Zeus “the Thunderer” (*Βροντῶν*), Zeus “of the Fair Wind” (*Εὐάνεμος*), “Zeus of the Rain” (*Τέτιος*).¹⁰ Marcus Aurelius¹¹ has preserved the Athenian equivalent of our prayer “In the time of Dearth and Famine” : it runs as follows :—

ἵσον, Ἰσον, ὁ φίλε Ζεῦ,
κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων
Rain, rain, dear Zeus,
On Athens' tilth and Athens' plains.

The same conception found an expression in art. On the Athenian acropolis Pausanias¹² saw “an image of Earth praying Zeus to rain upon her.” And a bronze coin

⁷ Theocr., 4, 43.

⁸ Preller-Robert, pp. 117 ff.; Gruppe, pp. 1110 ff.; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, i., 44 ff.

⁹ E.g. II., 12. 25 f., ἵε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς | συνεχές; Babr., 45. 1, ἔνιφεν δ' Ζεὺς; Eur., *Tro.*, 78 f., καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ὅμβρον καὶ χάλαζαν ἀσπετον | πέμψει δυνοφώδη τ' αἰθέρος φυσήματα.

¹⁰ On Zeus *Βροντῶν* of Phrygia, Galatia, &c., see Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 891 f. On Zeus *Εὐάνεμος* of Sparta, Preller-Robert, p. 118. On Zeus *Τέτιος* of Lebadea, Argos, Cos, &c., Gruppe, p. 1110, n. 2.

¹¹ Marc. Aur., 5. 7.

¹² Paus., I. 24. 3, with Frazer's n.

of Ephesus¹³ struck under Antoninus Pius shows on its reverse side Zeus ‘Τέτιος enthroned on a rocky summit (Trachea) and pouring from his raised right hand a shower of rain upon a recumbent mountain-god (Pion). Now in polished classical times the thunderbolt was commonly regarded as a weapon flung by Zeus.¹⁴ But in by-gone animistic days Zeus had been identified with his own bolt.¹⁵ Similarly in the historical period rain was “water from Zeus,” or “the shower of Zeus.”¹⁶ But there were not wanting expressions that hinted at a closer connection. Matron, the parodist of Homer, dubbed rain “the child of Zeus”;¹⁷ Orphic writers spoke of it as “the tears of Zeus”;¹⁸ Aristophanes *more suo* as the water of Zeus.¹⁹ Indeed, it is probable that Zeus had originally been thought to come down himself in the form of rain. This belief may underlie the usage of ζήνιον or ζήνιον ὕδωρ, *i.e.*, “Zeus-water,” as a term for rain-water in magical formulæ.²⁰ It would account for the extraordinary significance attached

¹³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Ionia*, p. 79, pl. 13, 9. Eumelus (*frag.* 18 Kinkel) *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.*, 4. 48, states that on the top of Mount Tmolus was a place called originally Γοναὶ Διὸς Ὑετίου, later Δευσίου.

¹⁴ On Zeus Κέραννοβόλος, ἐγχεικέραννος, Ἐλασιβρόντης, &c., see the references collected by Gruppe, p. 1111, n. 3.

¹⁵ See Farnell, i., 45 f., who cites the Zeus Κέραννος of Mantinea, the Zeus Καταιβάτης of Olympia and elsewhere, the Zeus Καππώτας of Gythium, &c.

¹⁶ ‘Ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ Hdt., 2. 13; Ap. Rhod., 2. 1122; Plut. *questt. nat.*, 2: Διὸς ὄμβρος, *Od.* 9. 111; Theocr., 17. 78.

¹⁷ Matron *ap.* Athen., 2. 64 c, ἀς ἐν χέρσῳ θρέψε Διὸς παῖς ἀσπετος ὄμβρος.

¹⁸ Clem. Alex. *strom.*, 5. 8. 50, Ἐπιγένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ὀρφέως ποιήσεως τὰ ἰδιάζοντα παρ’ Ὀρφεῖ ἐκτιθέμενός φησι . . . δάκρυα Διὸς τὸν ὄμβρον δηλοῦν.

¹⁹ Aristoph. *nub.*, 373, καίτοι πρότερον τὸν Δί’ ἀληθῶς φύμην διὰ κοσκίνου οὐρεῖν.

²⁰ Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris u. London*, Wien, 1888, pap. Paris. 225, ἐὰν μὲν τοὺς ἐπουρανίους θεοὺς κλέψῃ ζήνιον (*sc.* βάλε ὕδωρ); Wessely, *Neue Griechische Zauberpapyri*, Wien, 1893, p. 41, 630, ζήνιον ὕδατος.

to a downpour, not only in legends, but in actual life,²¹ where a sudden storm was called *διοσημία*, “a sign from Zeus,” and a few rain-drops might suffice to postpone a public assembly.²² It would also explain more than one incident belonging to an early stratum of Greek mythology. Thus it was as a fall of golden rain that Zeus visited Danae.²³ And two similar epiphanies are recorded by Pindar, whose knowledge of the details of folk-lore was only equalled by his appreciation of their beauty. Thebes, he tells us, “received the lord of the gods in a midnight snow of gold,” what time he came down to woo Alcmena.²⁴ At the birth of Athena, too, “the mighty king of the gods once rained snow-flakes of gold upon the town” of Rhodes.²⁵ Pindar does not expressly assert that Zeus was in the wondrous shower: but, that he was, is almost certain; for another Rhodian tale made Zeus consort with the nymph Himalia *διὰ ὅμβρου*, “by means of rain.”²⁶ The conception of Zeus-in-the-rainwater is important, because it led on to further developments. The rain formed rilles, and the rilles ran into brooks, and the brooks swelled into streams, so that Homer can call even large rivers “Zeus-fallen” (*διπτετέis*)²⁷ and “Zeus-nurtured” (*διοτρεφεis*).²⁸ The same connection of ideas can be traced in some of the principal Zeus-cults of Greece. The priest of Zeus *Λυκαῖος*

²¹ E.g. *Parthen. narr. amat.*, 6. 6, *φαντάσματος δὲ θείου γενομένου καὶ ἔξαπναις ὕδατος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολλοῦ καταρραγέντος μετέγνω κ.τ.λ.*

²² Aristoph., *Ach.*, 171 *διοσημία στὶ καὶ ράνις βέβληκέ με*, with Blaydes' n.

| ²³ Roscher, *Lex.*, i., 947.

²⁴ Pind., *Isthm.*, 7. 5 with schol.

²⁵ Pind., *OI.*, 7. 34 with schol., Strab., 655.

²⁶ Clem. Rom. *hom.*, 5. 13.

²⁷ The Spercheus (*Il.*, 16. 174), the Xanthus (*Il.*, 21. 268, 326), the Nile (*Od.*, 4. 477, 581). *Cp. Il.*, 17. 263 schol. A. *διπτετέος . . . οἱ γάρ ὅμβροι ἀπὸ Διός*, *Od.*, 4. 477 schol. E. H. Q. *ὅτι φύσει οἱ ποταμοὶ ἐκ Διὸς πληροῦνται, ὡς πον τῷ “καὶ σφιν Διὸς ὅμβρος ἀέξει”* (*Od.*, 9. 111), Eustath., 1505, 58, *δῆλον γάρ ὡς τὸ ἐκπίπτον ὕδωρ ἐκ Διὸς ὁ ἐστιν ἀέρος ποιεῖ διπτετή ποταμόν*.

²⁸ The Scamander (*Il.*, 21. 223).

in Arcadia was rain-maker for the district.²⁹ The official title of Zeus at Dodona was *Zeus Náios*, i.e., "the stream-god."³⁰ And an Attic relief shows *Zeus Μελίχιος* seated on the head of the river-god Acheloüs.³¹ Finally, the rivers emptied into the sea, which may have been one reason why Zeus was sometimes regarded as a sea-god. "Aeschylus, son of Euphorion," says Pausanias,³² "applies the name of Zeus also to the god who dwells in the sea." So did another Greek poet cited in the *Etymologicum Magnum*.³³ Oppian³⁴ calls dolphins "the servants of Zeus who thunders in the brine" (*ἀλιγδούπτοι*). An Orphic hymn³⁵ speaks of "Zeus of the deep brine" (*πόντιος εἰνάλιος*). Proclus³⁶ too mentions a *Zeus ἐνάλιος*; and Hesychius³⁷ states that Zeus was worshipped at Sidon under the title *Θαλάσσιος*. Other evidence bearing on the point could be got together;³⁸ but enough has been said to show that the Greeks passed by easy transitions from the recognition of Zeus as a sky-god to the recognition of Zeus as a water-god.

On the other hand, a "bright" sky-god must have stood in some relation to the sun. That luminary appears under various transparent disguises in Greek mythology. Sometimes it is a rayed disk or *swastika* or *triskeles*; sometimes,

²⁹ Paus., 8. 38. 4.

³⁰ The word is in all probability connected with *Nata* (a spring in Laconia: Paus., 3. 25. 4), *Náiac*, *náw*, *náma*, &c. Lyc., *Alex.*, 79 f. describes the flood, ὅτι ἡμάθινε πᾶσαν δύβρησας χθόνα | Ζηνὸς καχλάζων νασμός, and Orph. *hymn.* 19. 4 addresses Zeus the thunderer as *νάμασι παννεφέλοις στεροπήν φλεγέθονσαν ἀναιθων*. See further *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 178, 185.

³¹ Roscher, *Lex.*, ii., 2559.

³² Paus., 2. 24. 4.

³³ *Etym. Magn.*, 409, 7 f.

³⁴ Opp., *hal.*, 5. 422 f., *προπόλοισι | Ζηνὸς ἀλιγδούπτοι*.

³⁵ Orph. *hymn.* 63. 16, Γαῖα θεὰ μήτηρ καὶ πόντιος εἰνάλιος Ζεύς.

³⁶ Procl. in Plat. *Crat.*, p. 88 Boiss.

³⁷ Hesych., *s.v.* θαλάσσιος Ζεύς.

³⁸ See the passages collected by Farnell, i., 149, to prove that Zeus was worshipped as a maritime god under the titles *'Αποβατήριος*, *Βίθιος*, *Διμενοσκόπος*, *Σωτήρ*.

a wheel or chariot-wheel; sometimes, a golden cup or caldron or bed or boat or a magical ship; sometimes, a bird, a golden lamb, a golden ram, a bull: or again it is a glaring eye in the forehead of a giant, or a man of glowing bronze who makes his circuit once a day. But it will be observed that there is a tendency to connect most of these images with Zeus. The rayed disk of Lycia, the *swastika* of Crete, the *triskeles* of Sicily, have all been regarded as his sacred symbols.³⁹ Ixion was bound to a fiery wheel by Zeus: nay more, Ixion was a by-form of Zeus himself,⁴⁰ who at Chios was known as *Γυράφιος*, "He of the round wheel."⁴¹ When Prometheus dared to plunge his ferule into the solar wheel,⁴² i.e., to work the celestial fire-drill, it was Zeus whom he offended, for Zeus at Thurii was himself *Προμανθεύς*, "He of the fire-drill"⁴³: according to the oldest version of the legend extant, Prometheus stole the fire directly from Zeus.⁴⁴ The ship Argo was built by Argus, who has been already identified with the Argive Zeus,⁴⁵ and had inserted in her framework a portion of the oracular Dodonæan oak⁴⁶—obviously in order that Zeus might be aboard his own vessel to direct her course. Aeschylus,⁴⁷ thinking perhaps of Egypt, where the sun was symbolised by a phoenix,⁴⁸ makes Danaus say to

³⁹ For the rayed disk on Lycian coins see *Class. Rev.*, xviii. 327. For the *swastika* in Crete, *ib.* xvii. 410 f., *Annual of the British School at Athens*, ix. 88 f. For the Sicilian *triskeles*, *Class. Rev.*, xviii. 326 f.

⁴⁰ *Class. Rev.*, xvii. 420.

⁴¹ Tzetz. in *Lyc. Alex.*, 537.

⁴² Serv. in *Verg. ecl.*, 6. 42.

⁴³ Tzetz. in *Lyc. Alex.*, 537. *Προμανθεύς* is to be connected with the Sanskrit *pramantha*, "fire-stick"; *Προμηθεὺς*, with *pramātha*, "theft" (E. Kuhn *die Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 18 f.).

⁴⁴ IIes. *O. D.*, 51 f.

⁴⁵ *Supra*, p. 265.

⁴⁶ Apollodor., 1. 9. 16, *alib.*

⁴⁷ Aesch., *suppl.*, 213 f.

⁴⁸ D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, s.v. φοῖνιξ; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, ii., 96 f., 371 f.

his daughters—"Call ye likewise on yonder bird of Zeus"—to which they reply—"Lo, we call on the saving rays of the sun." In the story of Atreus' golden lamb Zeus causes the sun to travel backwards,⁴⁹ and, since control of the sun's course constituted an equal claim to kingship with possession of the golden lamb, it is not improbable that the golden lamb was the sun itself.⁵⁰ Again, the golden ram, which carried Phrixus and Helle through the air till the latter fell into the Hellespont, affords so close a parallel to the myth of Phaethon that we are forced to interpret it as a piece of solar symbolism.⁵¹ Phrixus, who got safe to Colchis, sacrificed this ram to Zeus Φύξιος and gave its fleece to Aeetes, son of Helios, who hung it on an oak-tree in the grove of Ares: so much we are told by the Greek mythographer Apollodorus,⁵² but a valuable Latin treatise on mythology preserved in a Vatican manuscript adds that the golden fleece stripped from Phrixus' ram was that "in which Zeus climbs the sky"⁵³—a clear case of Zeus being equated with the sun. Similarly Zeus Αμμων was at once sun-god and ram-god;⁵⁴ and Herodotus accounts for the yearly clothing of his statue at Thebes with a fresh ram's skin by the quaint tale that Zeus put on the head and skin of a ram before he would show himself

⁴⁹ *Il.*, 2. 106, schol. A.D., *alib.* For the details of the story see *infra*, p. 305.

⁵⁰ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 184.

⁵¹ So Kuhn in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wissensch.* 1873, p. 138, Mannhardt in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* 1875, p. 243 ff., &c. Strabo 499 asserts that the whole legend arose from the practice of the Soanes, a Colchian tribe, who were said to catch in fleeces the gold that was brought down by mountain torrents. This explanation, though plausible (see Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 70), is—like almost all rationalising explanations—wrong. The golden ram cannot be thus separated from the golden lamb. Besides, the analogy of the myth of Phaethon and the parentage of Aeetes, child of the Sun, confirm the solar connection.

⁵² Apollod., 1. 9. 16.

⁵³ *Myth. Vat.* ed. Angelo Maio, i., 24 (Pelias sent Jason to Colchis) ut inde detulisset pellem auream in qua Jupiter in caelum ascendit.

⁵⁴ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 404.

to Heracles.⁵⁵ In Crete the sun was expressly called a bull,⁵⁶ and it is probable that the son of Minos the Cretan king disguised himself as a bull (the Minotaur) when he wore the ritual costume of Zeus.⁵⁷ There is also much to be said for the view that the Cyclops, whose fiery eye is rightly explained as the solar orb,⁵⁸ was an early form of Zeus.⁵⁹ Macrobius indeed—though his *penchant* for solar mythology must always be borne in mind—definitely states that “the ancients call the sun the eye of Jupiter.”⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Hdt., 2. 42. The skin of the victim sacrificed to Zeus Μελίχιος or to Zeus Κρήσιος was known as Διός κώδιον, “the fleece of Zeus” (Polemon ap. Hesych. s.v.), or Διὸν κώδιον, “the Zeus-fleece” (Polemon ap. Athen., 478 c., Bekker *aneqd.*, 242, 26, cp. Eustath., 1935, 9); Suidas, if his text may be trusted, even says that the Greeks called it Διά, “Zeus” (Suid. s.v. Διός κώδιον). Miss J. E. Harrison (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 23 ff.), on the strength of the verbs διωποτεῖν, ἀποδιωποτεῖν, denies any connexion with Zeus, and refers us to the root appearing in the Latin *dirus*. But why should not these verbs mean practically what Eustathius says they mean—“to send away evil things in the name of Zeus Ἀλεξιακος” (Eustath., 1935, 13)? Hesychius too connected them with Zeus (Hesych., διωπυτεῖσθαι· καθαίρειν. ἵδιως δὲ τὸ καθαίροντας τὸν προστρόπαιον Διά.); and if Διὸν meant “the Zeus-fleece,” as Polemon, Eustathius, &c., agree that it did, διωποτεῖν and ἀποδιωποτεῖν would be perfectly correct formations for “to send away by means of a Zeus-fleece.” Rams’-skins were elsewhere used in the service of Zeus. In the heat of summer, when the dog-star appeared, a procession of young men clad in fresh rams’-skins made its way to the sanctuary of Zeus Ἀκραῖος on the summit of Mt. Pelion (Dicaearch., 2. 8). And those who consulted the dream-oracle of Zeus Ἀμφίραος (Dicaearch., I. 6) at Oropus sacrificed a ram and slept on the skin of it (Paus., I. 34. 5, with Frazer’s *n.*).

⁵⁶ Bekker, *aneqd.*, 344, 10 ff., ἀδιοίνιος τάιρος· δὲ ἥδιος ὑπὸ τῶν Κρητῶν οὕτω λέγεται. φασὶ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν μετοκίζοντα τάιρῳ προσεικασθέντα προηγεῖσθαι, cp. Apollod., I. 9. 26, who says of Talos οἱ δὲ Ταΐροι αὐτὸν λέγουσιν.

⁵⁷ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 404-412, where I wrongly identified Minos himself with the Minotaur.

⁵⁸ See W. Grimm, “Die Sage von Polyphem,” in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1857, p. 27 f., and the literature quoted in *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 326, n. 24.

⁵⁹ *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 325 ff.

⁶⁰ Macrob., *Sat.*, I. 21. 12, solem Iovis oculum appellat antiquitas, with Jan’s *n.*

Hesiod uses the phrase "the eye of Zeus";⁶¹ but it is not certain that he is referring to the sun. Better attested is the identification of the bronze giant Talos on the one hand with the sun,⁶² on the other with Zeus.⁶³ This unequivocal conception of a solar Zeus recurs at Amorgos, where a very early inscription⁶⁴ incised on a rock reads:

Ι Ε Υ Σ	-	-	Ζεὺς
Η Γ Ζ Ζ Ξ	-	-	"ΙΑ[ιο]ς.

At Chios Zeus was entitled *Aιθίοψ*, "He of the glowing face."⁶⁵ Throughout Asia Minor he was conceived as a solar power: thus Zeus *'Ασκραῖος* of Caria and Lydia is represented on coins of Halicarnassus wearing a rayed crown.⁶⁶ Zeus *'Οσογώς* on a coin of Mylasa⁶⁷ and Zeus *Πανάμαρος* (?) on coins of Stratonicea⁶⁸ are similarly adorned. The Phrygian and Galatian Zeus *Βροντῶν* was related to the sun.⁶⁹ The ritual of the Bithynian Zeus *Στράτιος* involved an enormous bonfire, which was kindled on a hill-top⁷⁰ and, like the bonfire on Mount Cithaeron at the festival of the Great Daedala,⁷¹ was probably intended

⁶¹ Hes., *O. D.*, 267, πάντα ἵδων Διὸς δόφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας. Cp. Stob. *eccl.*, I. 3. 9, Wachsmuth οὐχ εὑδει Διός | δόφθαλμός, ἐγγὺς δ' ἐστι, καίπερ δὲ πρόσω.

⁶² Hesych., *Ταλᾶς* ὁ ἥλιος.

⁶³ Hesych., *Ταλαῖς* ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ, G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Gr.*,² 463, 19 f., τὸν Δῆμα τὸν Ταλλαῖον, 514, 14, τῷ Ζηνὸς τῷ Ταλλαῖῳ.

⁶⁴ Röhl, *Imagines Inscr.* *Gr. antiquiss.*² p. 55, no. 28, Roberts, *Gk. Epigraphy*, i, 191, no. 160 f. Other references to Zeus "Ηλιος" are of Roman date, e.g., *Corp. Inscr. Gr.*, 4590, 4604, *Anth. Pal.*, 7, 85, *Elym. Magn.*, 409, 9.

⁶⁵ Tzetz. in Lyc. *Alex.*, 537, cp. Eustath., 1385, 62.

⁶⁶ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 416, fig. 10.

⁶⁷ *Ib.*, p. 417.

⁶⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Caria, p. 153, pl. 24, 4.

⁶⁹ Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, iii., 891, 58 ff.

⁷⁰ Appian *Bell. Mithr.*, 66.

⁷¹ Paus., 9. 3. 1 ff.

as a sun-charm.⁷² For the mainland of Greece the evidence of a solar Zeus is less conclusive. But an inscription from Thoricus, a town on the south-eastern coast of Attica, speaks of a Zeus Αὐαντήρ, Zeus "the Scorching."⁷³ And there are some grounds for supposing that Zeus Λυκαῖος was a solar deity: Lycosura, high up on the side of Mount Lycaeum was "the first city that ever the sun beheld";⁷⁴ and in the precinct of Zeus no shadows were cast by man or beast.⁷⁵ However that may be, it is undeniable that there was a tendency among the Greeks, especially among the Greeks of the Archipelago and Asia Minor, to connect Zeus the "bright" sky-god with that most striking manifestation of his brightness—the sun. Rapp,⁷⁶ following the lead of Sonne and Roscher, argues that Zeus the daylight-god was naturally also a sun-god to begin with; but that, as the conception of Zeus developed, his solar characteristics split off from the rest of his attributes and were attached to a fresh sun-god, Apollo: that this process was repeated, Apollo becoming more and more spiritual until his physical function as a sun-god was taken over by yet another personification, Helios, who in turn was endued with traits that are at least anthropomorphic and ethical. Without insisting upon every stage of this evolution we may well grant that Zeus had, so to speak, a solar side to his character. Now the nightly passing of the sun through the western "Gates of Helios"⁷⁷ seems to have led to the belief that the solar Zeus had his dwelling beneath the earth. Zeus Ἀμμων, for example, was identified not merely with the sun but with "the setting sun of Libya";⁷⁸ and

⁷² *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 80.

⁷³ See Jessen, in Pauly-Wissowa, ii., 2264, s. v. "Auanter."

⁷⁴ Paus., 8. 38. 1.

⁷⁵ Paus., 8. 38. 6; Theopompos *ap.* Polyb., 16. 12. 7.

⁷⁶ In Roscher, *Lex.*, i., 1994 f.

⁷⁷ *Od.*, 24. 12, 'Ηελίου πόλας.

⁷⁸ Macrob., *Sat.*, i. 21. 19, Ammonem, quem deum solem occidentem Libyes existimant.

a spring in the Ammonium, whose waters were cold at noon but warm in the morning and evening, was called the "Fountain of Helios"⁷⁹ and was apparently thought to be heated by the presence of Zeus beneath the earth. Similarly at Dodona Zeus had an intermittent spring, which at midday, when the sun was high over head, ceased to flow altogether, while at midnight, when the sun was deep underground, it was at its fullest:⁸⁰ so potent were its solar virtues that unlighted torches when brought near to it burst into flame.⁸¹ Moreover, the Ammonium and Dodona were the two most famous oracles of Zeus. It would seem that the solar god having seen all things by day with his unwinking eye⁸² retires by night to his nether home, whence by the agency of his interpreters he sends up knowledge to those that would know. This explains why the great oracular gods of the Greeks were Zeus and Apollo:⁸³ both of them were solar. Helios⁸⁴ too, like Zeus⁸⁵ and perhaps Apollo,⁸⁶ was *πανομφαῖος*, a god "of all prophecy," and had been known to foretell the future in Rhodes.⁸⁷ Other oracular powers were, practically without exception, chthonian in character. But that Zeus was believed to reside under the earth is no mere surmise. The *Iliad*⁸⁸ associates Zeus *καταχθόνιος*, the "underground"

⁷⁹ Hdt., 4. 181, *alib.*

⁸⁰ Plin., *nat. hist.*, 2. 228; cp. *Etym. Magn.*, 98, 22.

⁸¹ Plin., *ib.*; Pomp. Mel., 2. 3. 43; Aug. *de civ. Dei*, 21. 5; Isidor., *orig.*, 13. 13. 10; Lucr., 6. 879 ff.

⁸² *Supra*, p. 272 f, cp. *Od.*, 11. 109, 'Ηελίου, δὲς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακοεῖ and the references given in Roscher, *Lex.*, i., 2020, 11 ff.

⁸³ See the list of Greek oracles in Smith-Wayte-Marindin *Dict. Ant.*, ii., 285 ff.

⁸⁴ Quint. Smyrn., 5. 626, 'Ηελίοιο πανομφαῖοιο.

⁸⁵ Il., 8. 250, *πανομφαῖψι Ζηνὶ ρέζεσκον Ἀχαιοῖ*, Anth. Pal., 6. 52. 2 Simonides, *Orph. Arg.*, 658, 1296.

⁸⁶ If Hermann's *πανομφαῖον* is rightly read in the *hymn. Hom. Merc.*, 473; but see T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes *ad loc.*

⁸⁷ Diodor., 5. 56.

⁸⁸ Il., 9. 457, *Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια*, cp. *Etym. Magn.*, 409, 7 f.

Zeus, with Persephone. Hesiod⁸⁹ bids the Boeotian farmer pray to Zeus *χθόνιος*, Zeus "of the ground," along with Demeter. Zeus indeed was *χθόνιος*, a subterranean god, not only in poetry⁹⁰ but in actual cult, being worshipped under that title at Olympia,⁹¹ at Corinth,⁹² and in Myconus.⁹³ Aeschylus⁹⁴ makes Danaus assert that in the world below "another Zeus, so men say, judgeth sins with a last judgment among the dead," while the chorus of Danaids declare: "If we cannot gain the ear of the Olympian gods, we will die by the noose and come with suppliant boughs to Him of the earth (*τὸν γάιον*), the right hospitable Zeus of the dead." An Orphic poem⁹⁵ speaks of the snake which guarded the golden fleece as "a portent of the earthy Zeus" (*χαμαιζήλοο*). And an epigram of Metrodorus⁹⁶ mentions "a sacrifice to Zeus of the ground" (*οὐδαῖος*). In art too Zeus was sometimes represented as lord of the upper- and under-world alike. Thus a marble statuette in the British Museum shows him seated with the eagle on one side of his throne and Cerberus on the other.⁹⁷ In short, there is abundant evidence to prove that Zeus the sky-god had come, by whatever route,⁹⁸ to be conceived as an earth-god also.

⁸⁹ Hes. *O.D.*, 465.

⁹⁰ Soph. *O.C.*, 1606; Orph. *Hymn.*, 41. 7, 70. 2; Nonn. *Dion.*, 27. 93, 36. 98, 44. 258.

⁹¹ Paus., 5. 14. 8.

⁹² Paus., 2. 2. 8.

⁹³ Dittenb.,² 615, 25, ὑπὲρ καρπῶν Διὶ Χθονίῳ, Γῇ Χθονίῃ, δερτὰ μέλανα ἐτήσια.

⁹⁴ Aesch. *Suppl.*, 230 f., 156 ff.

⁹⁵ Orph. *Arg.*, 929, σῆμα χαμαιζήλοο Διός.

⁹⁶ Anth. Pal., 14. 123. 14 Metrodorus ρέζετε δ' Οὐδαῖοψ Ζανί θυηπολίνη.

⁹⁷ Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Sculpt., no. 1531, Farnell, i., 105, pl. 1c.: see also J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, i., 305 ff. on "Sarapis."

⁹⁸ Farnell, i., 66, suggests that "This sombre character of Zeus was probably derived, in Attica at least, from his functions as a deity of vegetation." I am far from denying the possible influence of this latter conception. Sky-god may have become earth-god not only *viā* sun-god but also *viā* rain-god, farmer's-god, &c. But it is, I think, on the whole probable that Zeus as an earth-god preceded Zeus as a farmer's-god, rather than *vice versa*.

We have seen that Zeus the sky-god was also a water-god and an earth-god; that, in fact, the Orphic theologians were not far wrong, when they addressed the Sun as—

ἀγλαῖς Ζεῦ Διόνυσε, πάτερ πόντον, πάτερ αἰης.
“Shining Zeus-Dionysus, Father of the Sea, Father of the Earth.”⁹⁹

This differentiation and development of the attributes of Zeus explains, if I am not mistaken, the Homeric myth of the Cronidæ. According to the *Iliad*,¹⁰⁰ Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades, the three sons of Cronus and Rhea, divided the world between them. When they cast lots, “Zeus received as his portion the broad sky in the upper air and in the clouds,” Poseidon got “the hoary sea as a perpetual habitation,” and Hades had “the thick darkness of the west.” That it is really Zeus who in three aspects of his own being thus rules the three main divisions of the world, appears in the first place from various passages of ancient literature in which Poseidon is definitely identified with Zeus as a water-god and Hades with Zeus as an earth-god. Proclus¹⁰¹ says of the three sons of Cronus: “The first . . . is called by one name, Zeus; the second, by two names, Zeus of the Sea and Poseidon; the third, by three names, Zeus of the under-world and Pluto and Hades.” The *Etymologicum Magnum*¹⁰² similarly extends the meaning of the word Zeus: “It denotes four things: (a) ‘God’ or ‘the sky,’ as in *Il.* 13. 1 ‘When Zeus had brought the Trojans,’ &c. (b) ‘Poseidon,’ as in *Od.* 5. 304(?) ‘Zeus stirred up the sea,’ &c. (c) ‘The under-

⁹⁹ *Orph. hymn. frag.* 235 Abel.

¹⁰⁰ *Il.* 15. 187 ff.

¹⁰¹ Procl. in Plat. *Crat.*, p. 88 Boiss., ὁ μὲν πρῶτος . . . καλεῖται μοναδικῶς Ζεὺς· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος δυαδικῶς καλεῖται Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος τριαδικῶς Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἀΐδης.

¹⁰² *Etym. Magn.*, 409, 4 ff., σημαίνει δὲ τέσσαρα· τὸν θεὸν ἡ τὸν οὐρανόν, ὃς τὸ “Ζεὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ οὖν Τρῶας”—τὸν Ποσειδῶνα, ὃς τὸ “Ζεὺς δὲ κατὰ πόντον ἐτάραξεν”—τὸν καταχθόνιον θεόν, ὃς τὸ “Ζεὺς δὲ καταχθόνιος”, ὁ Πλούτων, Ἰλιάδος 1, —καὶ τὸν ἥλιον, “ἴκετ’ αἰθέρα καὶ Διός αὐγάς.”

ground god,' as in *Il.* 9. 457 'Both the underground Zeus,' &c., sc. Pluto. (*d*) '*The sun*,' as in *Il.* 13. 837 'Reached the upper air and the rays of Zeus.' Eustathius¹⁰³ too, whose knowledge of Greek mythology was immense, declares: "*Zeus or Zen* is a name common to the brothers *Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades*." If it be objected that these and other similar identifications¹⁰⁴ are all literary and may be merely metaphorical,¹⁰⁵ it is possible to point to a few definite cults of *Zeus-Poseidon* and *Zeus-Hades*. A god who bore the compound title *Zeno-Poseidon*¹⁰⁶ was worshipped in Caria. His temple stood beside a river in a place where thunderbolts were supposed to fall with especial frequency;¹⁰⁷ and he appears on coins of Mylasa holding an eagle in his left hand and resting on a trident with his right.¹⁰⁸ As to *Zeus-Hades*, Dr. Farnell¹⁰⁹ justly observes: "The chthonian *Zeus* undoubtedly appeared in the group of *Zeus-Hades* in the temple of *Athene Itonia* at

¹⁰³ Eustath., 763, 52, *Ιδον τὸ Ζεὺς ἦτοι Ζῆν κοινὸν ὄνομα Διός καὶ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀΐδου τῶν ἀδελφῶν.*

¹⁰⁴ Schol. Opp. *hal.*, 5. 423, *Ζηνὸς ἀλιγδούποιο* · Neptunus, Eur. *Κρῆτες frag.*, 904 Dind. *Ζεὺς εἴτ' Ἀΐδης | ὄνομαζόμενος στέργεις, Orph. hymn.*, 18. 3 f. *Ζεῦ χθόνιοι σκηπτοῦχε, τάο'* ierā δέξα προθύμως · | *Πλούτων, δὲς κατέχεις γαῖης κληῆδας ἀπάστος, Nonn. Dion.*, 27. 77, *Ζηνὶ καταχθονίῳ δεδαγμένον, Ἀΐδη, πέμψω, Hesych. Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος · ὁ Ἀΐδων, ἤγουν ὁ Ἀΐδης and χθόνιος Ζεύς · ὁ Ἀΐδης, schol. *Il.*, 15. 188, ὁ δὲ Ἀΐδης . . . καὶ Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος . . . καὶ Πλούτων.*

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Gruppe, p. 1094 f. "Wenn Poseidon Meerzeus heisst, so ist das zunächst nur eine Vergleichung, die ausdrückt, dass er auf dem Meere dieselbe Macht hat, wie Zeus im Himmel. So ist wahrscheinlich auch die Bezeichnung des Hades als *Zeus Chthonios* oder *Katachthonios* zu verstehen; denn *wenngleich Zeus in einer sehr fernen Vergangenheit mit Zügen des unterweltlichen Herrschers ausgestattet worden ist*, so hat diese begonnene Theokrasie später schwerlich mehr nachgewirkt." In the words that I have italicized Gruppe grants at least half my contention.

¹⁰⁶ Macho *ap. Athen.*, 337 c, *Corp. inscrv. Gr.*, 2700 add., Collitz, *Gr. Diakl. inschr.* 5163 b., 12: see Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v. "Osogoa."

¹⁰⁷ Theophrast. *ap. Athen.*, 42 A.

¹⁰⁸ Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins, Caria, p. 132 f., nos. 31, 32, 37.

¹⁰⁹ Farnell, i., 105.

Coronea,—which Pausanias and Strabo both mention, the one naming the god Zeus, the other Hades.”¹¹⁰ And E. Rohde¹¹¹ collected the evidence for the cult of a chthonian Zeus *Bouλεύς* or *Εὐβουλεύς*. Further, if Poseidon and Hades were but variant forms of Zeus, fresh light is thrown on several ancient myths, such as that¹¹² which made Heracles single-handed vanquish the trio Phœbus,¹¹³ Poseidon, and Hades at Olympia; or that¹¹⁴ which made Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollo simultaneous suitors for the hand of Thetis; or that¹¹⁵ which made Zeus, Poseidon, and Hermes (or Apollo) co-parents of Orion. Again, the archetypes of Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades are extraordinarily similar. The substantial points of resemblance and the slight points of difference between Zeus and Poseidon have been minutely studied by Overbeck.¹¹⁶ But in the end we have to admit Zeus-like Poseidons and Poseidon-like Zeuses, or figures which might appropriately bear the name of either god. So with Hades: Dr. Farnell¹¹⁷ notes “the close resemblance which the type of Zeus bears to that of Hades through all the periods of Greek art.” As Scherer¹¹⁸ puts it, “His whole appearance is that of a

¹¹⁰ Paus., 9. 34. 1, Strab., 411.

¹¹¹ Rohde, *Psych.* i., 207, n. 2, 210, n. 1. Cp. the inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΠΛΑΟΥΤΗΟΣ on a base from Halicarnassus (Roscher *Lex.*, i., 1812).

¹¹² Pind. *OI.*, 9. 31 ff. with schol.

¹¹³ Probably a pious substitution for Zeus; for another myth made Heracles wrestle successfully against Zeus himself at Olympia (Lyc. *Alex.*, 40 ff. with Tzetz. *ad loc.*).

¹¹⁴ Tzetz. in Lyc. *Alex.*, 178.

¹¹⁵ *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 81 f.

¹¹⁶ Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, ii., 245 ff. “Poseidon ist als grosser Kronide und Bruder des Zeus in der ganzen bildenden Kunst der Alten eine der Hauptsache nach ganz zeusartige Erscheinung; das springt bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung sofort in die Augen, während die Verschiedenheiten in der Darstellung beider Götter gesucht und studirt werden sollen.” Cp. Preller-Robert, p. 594 f.

¹¹⁷ Farnell, i., 105.

¹¹⁸ In Roscher, *Lex.*, i., 1794.

modified Zeus, 'a weak imitation of the ruler of Olympus, a shadow too in comparison with the living form of his brother Poseidon.' Art represented the three sons of Cronus as externally very similar, but distinguished them by a rendering of their characteristics and attributes." Finally, I would venture to maintain¹¹⁹ that the name of Zeus is an integral part of the names of both Poseidon and Hades. For, if the known varieties of these three names be arranged side by side, it will appear that they have a common element *Da-* or *Dau-*, which are forms of the name of Zeus :

<i>Zeus.</i> <i>Poseidon.</i> <i>Hades.</i>	$\Delta\varepsilon\nu\varsigma\ \Delta\ddot{\alpha}\nu$ (acc.) $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$, &c. $\pi\sigma\tau\iota\text{-}\Delta\alpha\varsigma\ \pi\sigma\tau\iota\text{-}\Delta\acute{a}F\text{-}\omega\nu\ \pi\sigma\tau\iota\text{-}\Delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$, &c. $\ddot{\alpha}\iota\text{-}\Delta\varepsilon\nu\varsigma$ (?) ¹²⁰ $\ddot{\alpha}\iota\text{-}\Delta\acute{\alpha}\alpha\varsigma$ ^{120a} $\ddot{\alpha}\iota\text{-}\Delta\alpha\varsigma$ $\ddot{\alpha}\iota\text{-}\Delta\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ ^{120b} $\ddot{\alpha}\iota\text{-}\Delta\omega\nu\ \ddot{\alpha}\iota\text{-}\Delta\omega\nu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, &c.	= The "bright" sky-god. = "Zeus in the water" $(\pi\sigma\tau\o\varsigma)$. = "Zeus of the earth" $(\alpha\la)$.
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The first element in these forms of the name of Poseidon¹²¹ is probably *πότει*, the locative case of *πότος*, "drinking-water," so that Poseidon on this showing would be strictly "Zeus-in-the-drinking-water," a rain-Zeus or river-Zeus such as we have already detected. This corresponds, more-

¹¹⁹ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 175 f.

¹²⁰ A doubtful form : see Roscher *Lex.*, i., 1794 f., Gruppe, p. 1100, n. 1.

^{120a} Hesych. *Aἰδάας* (leg. *'Αἰδάας*) . *δεσπότης* ; Suid. *'Αηδᾶς* (leg. *'Αἰδᾶς*) . *δεσπότης*. For *δεσπότης* as an epithet of Hades see C. F. H. Bruchmann *epitheta deorum*, p. 2. But further light is needed.

^{120b} Hesych. *'Αἰδαον* · *ἄδον*. But M. Schmidt (ed. maj.) cj. *'Αἰδαο*, which may be right.

¹²¹ H. L. Ahrens (*Philologus*, xxiii., 1 ff., 193 ff.) was the first to point out that *Ποσειδῶν* means the Water-Zeus. Sonne (*Zeitschr. f. vergl. Spr.*, x., 183) suggested that the *ποσει*- of *Ποσειδῶν* was a locative case. It is, however, necessary to derive forms beginning with *ποσει-* or *ποτοι-* (see the list in Gruppe, p. 1152 n.) from *πότος*, not *πόσις*.

over, with what is known otherwise of Poseidon's antecedents. Mr. Marindin, for example, writes:¹²² "Poseidon seems to have been worshipped originally by the oldest branches of the Ionic race in especial. It is possible that when they were an inland people mainly, he was the god of running streams and wells, and that as they occupied more and more sea-coast towns his worship took particularly the form, which eventually everywhere prevailed, appropriate to the god of the sea. In Thessaly, a well-watered country, without many sea-ports, his character was that of a god of rivers." There is much evidence of Poseidon as a god of rivers, springs, and wells:¹²³ but, though his appearance in a dream, according to Artemidorus,¹²⁴ portends rain, and though a scholiast on Homer¹²⁵ expressly connects him with the rainfall and remarks that the month of the winter rains was called Ποσειδεών, it is probable that the fresh-water aspect of Poseidon was terrestrial rather than celestial. That is to say, Poseidon as a chthonian god¹²⁶ manifested himself in the deep-sunk wells, in the springs that bubbled up from the ground, in the streams that gushed out of the rock.¹²⁷ But in either case, whether the river was regarded as fallen from Zeus the sky-god or risen from Zeus the earth-god, Poseidon would be with equal propriety named "Zeus-in-the-drinking-water." Similarly the first element in the name of Hades appears to be *aīa*,

¹²² Smith-Marindin, *Class. Dict.*, p. 751.

¹²³ Preller-Robert, p. 585 ff., Gruppe, p. 1147.

¹²⁴ Artemid. *oneirocr.*, 2. 38.

¹²⁵ Schol. *Il.*, 15. 188, καὶ νετοὶ νάμα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἔχοντι· καὶ Ἀττικοὶ τὸν περὶ χειμερίους τροπὰς μῆνα Ποσειδέωνα καλοῦσιν.

¹²⁶ Preller-Robert, p. 583 ff., Gruppe, p. 1139 f.

¹²⁷ E.g., Aesch. *sept. c. Theb.*, 307 ff., ὅδωρ τε Διρκαῖον, εὐτραφίστατον πωμάτων | δύσων ἵστιν Ποσειδάν ὁ γαιδοχός, Plat. *Critias*, 113 E, (Ποσειδάν) τὴν . . . νῆσον σία δή θεός εὐμαρῶς διεκόμησεν, ὅδατα μὲν διπτὰ ὑπὸ γῆς ἀνω πηγαῖα κομίσας . . . τροφὴν δὲ παντοίαν καὶ ικανὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδούνς.

"the earth." Hades would thus be "Zeus-of-the-earth,"¹²⁸ a conception for which we have already found ample justification.

In early times the Greeks, like other semi-civilized peoples, ascribed to their gods a plurality of heads, arms, legs, &c., with a view to expressing superhuman powers. For instance, Typhon had a hundred heads,¹²⁹ Briareus a hundred arms,¹³⁰ Scylla a dozen feet.¹³¹ Naturally the numbers differed in different myths, or even in different forms of the same myth. Without attempting to be exhaustive in the matter, we may here mark two main tendencies. (*a*) In the first place, the total was commonly reduced, sooner or later, to three. This reduction may, no doubt, have been due in part to artistic convenience:¹³² to depict a hundred arms or even a dozen feet in a realistic or convincing way was difficult, if not impossible. But it was also due in part to a yet more elementary difficulty, viz., the primitive inability to count beyond two, which, as Professor Tylor¹³³ long since showed, has left traces of itself both in the popular conception of the numeral three as a kind of superlative and in the grammatical recognition of singular, dual, and plural. These

¹²⁸ H. L. Ahrens (*Philologus*, xxiii., 211) hints at this derivation: in support of Ποσειδῶν = the Water-Zeus he says—"Diese deutung wird noch eine sehr kräftige bestätigung erhalten, wenn es mir gelingen sollte den namen des dritten Zeus Ἀτλῆς in ganz analoger weise zu deuten." G. F. Unger (*Philologus*, xxiv., 385 ff.) attempted to explain Ἀτλῆς as the patronymic form of ἀτλα. My own belief (*Class. Rev.*, xvii., 176) is that* *at-i-Δης*, "Zeus-of-the-Earth," passed into *ἀ-i-Δης*, with initial *a* lengthened to compensate for the loss of *i*: see Hoffmann, *die griech. Dialekte*, iii., 318 f.

¹²⁹ Pind., *OI.*, 4. 7, *Pyth.*, 8. 16; Aesch. *P. V.*, 353 f.; Aristoph., *nub.*, 336.

¹³⁰ *Iz.*, I., 402 f.; Plut. *de amic. multit.*, 6; Apollod., I. I. I.; Palaeph., 20.

¹³¹ *Od.*, 12. 89; Tzetz. *in Lyc. Alex.*, 650.

¹³² See Roscher, *Lex.*, ii., 1126, 11 ff.

¹³³ E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,³ i., 265.

usages are alike common in Greek.¹³⁴ Indeed, corresponding to our nursery-rhyme—¹³⁵

“One’s none,
Two’s some,
Three’s a many,
Four’s a penny,
Five’s a little hundred”—

a late Greek proverb¹³⁶ says :

<i>εἷς οὐδείς,</i>	One’s none,
<i>δύο πολλοί,</i>	Two’s a many,
<i>τρεῖς ὥχλος,</i>	Three’s a crowd,
<i>τέσσαρες πανήγυρις</i>	Four’s a congregation.

We have, therefore, some warrant for supposing that for the unsophisticated Greek three was tantamount to “a number,” a typical plurality. Hence Typhon the hundred-headed was also represented as a three-bodied monster both in literature¹³⁷ and in art.¹³⁸ Scylla, according to one account, has not six heads but three.¹³⁹ Pindar¹⁴⁰ and Horace,¹⁴¹ using a poet’s license, might give Cerberus a hundred heads—Hesiod¹⁴² gave him fifty—but he was ordinarily thought to have three.¹⁴³ The number of heads

¹³⁴ On the use of three as a superlative in Greek see H. Usener, “Dreiheit,” in *Rhein. Museum*, 1903, N. F., lviii., 357 f.

¹³⁵ Tylor, *op. cit.*, i., 264.

¹³⁶ Usener, *loc. cit.*, p. 357, n 1.

¹³⁷ Eur. *Herc. fur.*, 1271 f.

¹³⁸ A pediment-group in *poros*-stone found on the Akropolis at Athens: see Perrot-Chipiez *Hist. de l’Art dans l’Antiquité*, viii., 217, pl. 3, Th. Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, p. 73 ff., pl. 4. A black-figured vase in the Museo Archeologico at Florence: see Wiegand, *ib.*, p. 77, fig. 84.

¹³⁹ Anaxilas *ap. Athen.*, 558 a; Eustath., 1714, 37 f.

¹⁴⁰ Schol. Hes. *theog.*, 311.

¹⁴¹ Hor. *od.*, 2. 13. 34.

¹⁴² Hes. *theog.*, 311 f.

¹⁴³ Roscher, *Lex.*, ii., 1126.

assigned to the Lernæan Hydra by Greek authors varies from ten thousand down to one: Greek artists were content with from twelve to three.¹⁴⁴ Geryones was regularly three-bodied or at least three-headed,¹⁴⁵ in which peculiarity his hound Orthros sometimes resembled him.¹⁴⁶ (b) A second well-marked tendency of Greek religious art in its early stages was towards the representation of divine power by means of a double or Janiform head. The Lacedæmonians had a cultus-statue of Apollo with four ears and four hands¹⁴⁷; and small bronze figures with several arms holding a bow, &c., have actually been found on Greek soil.¹⁴⁸ On a fine *stamnos* in the Berlin collection the wind-god Boreas has a Janiform head.¹⁴⁹ Coins of Tenedos show a bearded and a beardless profile of Dionysus joined together in the same way¹⁵⁰: coins of Thasos, a double-faced Satyr.¹⁵¹ Hermes, whose statue by Telesarchides in the Ceramicus had four heads,¹⁵² was represented in the Attic deme Ankyle

¹⁴⁴ *Ib.*, i., 2769.

¹⁴⁵ *Ib.*, i., 1630 ff.

¹⁴⁶ *Ib.*, iii., 1218.

¹⁴⁷ Zenob., i. 54, quotes the following explanation of the proverb *ἄκουε τοῦ τὰ τέσσαρα ὥτα ἔχοντος*: “Others say that the proverb bids men hearken to them that speak truly. None is less likely to lie than Apollo, whose statue the Lacedæmonians erected having four hands and four ears, as Sosibius declares, because he appeared in that guise to those who fought at Amyclae.” Similar statements occur in Diog., 2. 5, and Apostol., i. 93. Cp. Hesych. s.v. *κουρίδιον*: “The Laconians give the name *κουρίδιον* to their four-handed Apollo,” s.v. *κυνακίας*: “*Kynakias*, straps from the hide of the ox sacrificed to four-handed Apollo, which are given as prizes,” Liban., i., 340, 5 Reiske *ἥσπερ ἐξ δημφαλοῦ τέτταρες στοῶν συζυγίαι καθ' ἕκαστον τμῆμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τέταγται* · οἷον ἐν ‘Απόλλωνος τετραχείρον ἀγάλματι.

¹⁴⁸ Furtwängler in Roscher, *Lex.*, i., 449, 53 ff.

¹⁴⁹ *Annali dell’ Instit.*, 1860, xxxii., pls. L. M. See M. Mayer, *Die Giganten u. Titanen*, p. 116, n. 151, and Rapp in Roscher, *Lex.*, i., 808 ff.

¹⁵⁰ P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. 10, 43.

¹⁵¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gr. Coins*, Thrace, p. 221, no. 51 f.

¹⁵² Eustath., 1353, 7 f.; Phot. s.v. ‘Ερμῆς τετρακέφαλος, Hesych. s.v. ‘Ερμῆς τρικέφαλος, S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, ii., 172, 2, 3.

by a three-headed figure,¹⁵³ and appears on gems and coins with a Janiform head.¹⁵⁴ Other examples of "Janustypen" are collected by Roscher,¹⁵⁵ who maintains that the double-herm of the Greeks gave rise to the two-headed Janus of the Italians. Perhaps we should be nearer the mark if we held that Greeks and Italians alike inherited the same primitive conception from an immemorial past.¹⁵⁶

It remains to apply these results to the particular case of Zeus. Was he too ever credited with a multitude of members? Were they at any time represented by a total of three? Was he anywhere Janiform in appearance? Now it may be at once admitted that the worship of Zeus the bright sky-god had from the first an upward and elevating tendency, which made for henotheism, not to say monotheism. I cannot refrain from quoting Professor Lewis Campbell's¹⁵⁷ beautiful rendering of two passages in which Aeschylus sets forth his own conception of Zeus. The first is spoken by the chorus of Danaids:¹⁵⁸

Let highest in mind be most in might.
The choice of Zeus what charm may bind?
His thought, 'mid Fate's mysterious night
A growing blaze against the wind,

¹⁵³ Harpocrat. *s.v.* τρικέφαλος with Gronovius' n.; Suid., *s.v.* τρικέφαλος; Hesych., *s.v.* Ἐρμῆς τρικέφαλος; Tzetz. in Lyc. Alex., 680; Apostol., 17.23; Phot., *s.v.* τρικέφαλος; *Etym. Magn.*, 766, 24 ff.

¹⁵⁴ Roscher, *Lex.*, i., 2415 ff., Furtwängler *Die Antiken Gemmen*, ii., 131, pl. 26, 32, Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.*, i., 459, fig. 551. Cp. Lucian *Jupp. trag.*, 43 οοί εἰσι τῶν Ἐρμῶν ἔνοι, δίττοι καὶ ἀμφότερωθεν ὄμοιοι.

¹⁵⁵ Roscher, *Lex.*, ii., 53 ff.

¹⁵⁶ It is possible that the two-headed type was a modification of the three-headed type. A Greek vase from the Gargiulo collection, published in the *Bulletin Napolitano*, N. S., vi., 17, pl. 2 (= S. Reinach *Répertoire des Vases Peints*, i., 493) shows a bearded male head composed of three faces conjoined. Looked at from almost any point of view this presents the exact appearance of a Janiform head. Hermes τρικέφαλος may similarly have given rise to a Hermes δικέφαλος. Further evidence bearing on the point will be considered in connection with the Italian Janus, who appears sometimes, though exceptionally, with three faces, not two.

¹⁵⁷ L. Campbell, *Religion in Greek Literature*, p. 273 f.

¹⁵⁸ Aesch., *suppl.*, 85 ff.

Prevails :—whate'er the nations say,
His purpose holds its darkling way.
What thing his nod hath ratified
 Stands fast, and moves with firm sure tread,
Nor sways, nor swerves, nor starts aside :
 A mazy thicket, hard to thread,
A labyrinth undiscovered still,
The far-drawn windings of his will.
Down from proud towers of hope
 He throws infatuate men,
Nor needs, to reach his boundless scope,
 The undistressful pain
Of Godlike effort ; on his holy seat
 He thinks, and all is done, even as him seems most meet.

The other passage¹⁵⁹ is put in the mouth of a chorus of old men, who are perplexed by what is virtually the problem of evil :

Zeus,—by what name soe'er
 He glories being addressed,
Even by that holiest name
 I name the Highest and Best.
On him I cast my troublous care,
 My only refuge from despair :
Weighing all else, in Him alone I find
Relief from this vain burden of the mind.

One¹⁶⁰ erst appeared supreme,
 Bold with abounding might,
But like a darkling dream
 Vanished in long past night
Powerless to save ; and he¹⁶¹ is gone
 Who flourished since, in turn to own
His conqueror, to whom with soul on fire
Man crying aloud shall gain his heart's desire,—

Zeus, who prepared for men
 The path of wisdom, binding fast
 Learning to suffering. In their sleep
The mind is visited again
 With memory of affliction past.
 Without the will, reflection deep
Reads lessons that perforce shall last,
Thanks to the power that plies the sovran oar,
Resistless, toward the eternal shore.

¹⁵⁹ Aesch. *Ag.*, 160 ff.

¹⁶⁰ Uranus.

¹⁶¹ Cronus.

When the Greek conception of Zeus had reached this level, and was destined to rise to yet higher heights,¹⁶² barbaric beliefs were bound to be forgotten and left behind in the valley. Zeus was now contrasted, rather than compared, with the old polymorphic powers of nature. He figures as the foe of the Titans, not as a Titan himself, though their name, as M. Mayer¹⁶³ has shown, may well be a mere reduplication of his own. He chains the fifty-headed and hundred-handed Briareus in a subterranean prison.¹⁶⁴ He blasts with his thunderbolt the hundred-headed Typhon.¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless there are not wanting indications that Zeus himself had been at one time on much the same footing as these his monstrous rivals. Argus, the Argive Zeus, surnamed Πανόπτης, "the All-seeing," had eyes all over his body.¹⁶⁶ They might be reckoned at a hundred,¹⁶⁷ or for that matter at ten thousand.¹⁶⁸ Pherecydes,¹⁶⁹ however, obeying what we may call the law of triadity, declared that Argus had but three eyes, one of which was in the back of his head. Others, following the second of the rules enunciated above, represented Argus as having a Janiform head. This is

¹⁶² E.g., in the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. For the former see Plat. *Phileb.*, 30 D, *Tim.*, 29 D—30 B, alib. For the latter, Aristot. *met.*, 12. 7. 1072 b. 2, 15 ff., 1074 b. 33 ff., alib.

¹⁶³ M. Mayer, *Die Giganten u. Titanen*, p. 81, compares Τι-ράν with Cretan forms of the names of Zeus, such as Τρῆνα, Τῆνα, Τᾶνα, Τανός, Τᾶν, and supports the *τ* of the supposed reduplication by Σίσυφος (ср. σοφός, σίσυφος), πίφανσκω, τίταινω.

¹⁶⁴ Hes. *theog.*, 147 ff., 617 ff.

¹⁶⁵ Ib., 821 ff.

¹⁶⁶ Apollodorus, 2. 1. 2, schol. II., 2. 103, alib.

¹⁶⁷ Ov. *met.*, 1. 625, Mythograph. Vatic., 1. 1. 18.

¹⁶⁸ Aesch., *P. V.*, 568 f.

¹⁶⁹ Pherecyd. *ap. schol. Eur. Phoen.*, 1116, "Αργος, φ"Ηρα δρθαλμὸν τιθεσιν
ἐν τῷ ινιψ. A krater at Ruvo shows Argus with three pairs of eyes, two of
which are on his breast and two on his thighs (*Monimenti inediti dell'*
Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica, ii. pl. 59 = S. Reinach, *Répertoire
des Vases Peints*, i. 111, 4).

probably implied by a fragment of the *Aegimius*,¹⁷⁰ which speaks of him as "looking this way and that with four eyes." Cratinus¹⁷¹ the comedian wrote a play called the *Πανόπται*, in which the members of the chorus had "two heads apiece and countless eyes." The vase-painters also sometimes conceived of Argus as possessing a double set of eyes. An early Chalcidian amphora now at Munich¹⁷² gives him a pair of eyes in the ordinary position and an extra pair on his breast. A black-figured Attic amphora, now at Naples,¹⁷³ shows him with a Janiform head composed of a bearded and an unbearded face, united under a *petasos*, or flat felt hat: his body, wherever visible, is marked with a series of eyes.

It appears, then, that the Argive Zeus was sufficiently barbaric to conform to the multiple, the triple, and the dual types of divinity. Probably, however, it was the triple type that appealed most strongly to the popular mind and received the sanction of actual worship. For, on the one hand, threefold sight recurs as a family peculiarity among the descendants of Argus: his grandson was called Triopas, "the Three-eyed."¹⁷⁴ And, on the other hand, the cult of a three-eyed Zeus flourished at Argos for well over a millennium. Pausanias,¹⁷⁵ writing in the second century of our era, tells us that he saw on the Argive Larisa "a wooden image of Zeus with two eyes in the usual place, and a third eye on the forehead. They say that this Zeus was the paternal (*πατρῷον*) god of Priam, son of Laomedon, and stood in the courtyard under the open sky; and when Ilium

¹⁷⁰ Hes. *Aeg.*, frag. 5 Kinkel, καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοπον "Αργον" εἰς κρατερόν τε μέγαν τε, | τέτρασιν δόθαλμοῖσιν δρώμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

¹⁷¹ Meineke, *frag. com. Gr.*, ii., 102, κράνια διστὰ φορεῖν, δόθαλμοὶ δ' εὐκ ἀριθμητοί.

¹⁷² *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1890-1891, pl. 12, 1 a. b.

¹⁷³ *Revue Archéologique*, iii. 309 f.; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. Ant.*, i., 419, fig. 508.

¹⁷⁴ Paus., 2. 16. 1; Hyg. *fab.*, 124, 145.

¹⁷⁵ Paus., 2. 24. 3, Frazer.

was taken by the Greeks, Priam fled for refuge to this god's altar. In the division of the spoil Sthenelus, son of Capaneus, got this image, and that is why it stands here." The cult thus attested for Argos and Troy probably extended to other Pelasgian towns. It is significant that the name Triopas occurs again as that of a religious founder at the Carian Triopium.¹⁷⁶ A Rhodian hero, the son of Helios and Rhodos, bore the same name.¹⁷⁷ Triopas or Triops was also the father of Merops the Coan.¹⁷⁸ Rhodes and Cos had alike in early days been peopled by Carians,¹⁷⁹ and the Carians were but one tribe of the Pelasgian stock;¹⁸⁰ so that the four personages named Triopas thus far mentioned were all probably Pelasgians. Again, a certain Triopas was king of the Pelasgians at Dotium in Thessaly, where dwelt the clan of the Triopidae.¹⁸¹ Another king of the Perrhaebians, who occupied a part of Thessaly known as Pelasgiotis,¹⁸² was called Triopas.¹⁸³ Lastly, the father of Pelasgus himself bore the same name.¹⁸⁴ It can hardly be doubted that the name Triopas or Triops, wherever it occurs, has reference to the cult of the three-eyed Pelasgian Zeus. The same deity figures in a Peloponnesian legend. When the Heraclidae returned to the Peloponnese, an oracle bade them take as their guide "the Three-eyed One" ($\tauὸν τριόφθαλμον$). They followed a man driving a mule, which was blind of one eye,¹⁸⁵ apparently not realising the drift of the oracle. But on entering the promised land they built three altars to Zeus Πατρῷος, "Paternal"

¹⁷⁶ *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 76 f.

¹⁷⁷ Diod., 5. 56, 61; cp. schol. Pind. *Ol.*, 7. 131, Suid. s.v. *Αἴθων*.

¹⁷⁸ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μέροψ*, schol. vet. Theocr., 17. 68.

¹⁷⁹ W. Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, i., 197 f.

¹⁸⁰ *Ib.*, i., 183 ff.

¹⁸¹ Callim. *hymn. Dem.*, 25 ff.

¹⁸² Aesch. *suppl.*, 256.

¹⁸³ Schol. *Il.*, 4. 88; Eustath., 448, 11.

¹⁸⁴ Hellanicus ap. schol. *Il.*, 3. 75; Paus., 2. 22. 1; Hyg. *fab.* 145.

¹⁸⁵ Paus., 5. 3. 5 f.; cp. Apollod., 2. 8. 3, Suid. s.v. *τριόφθαλμος*.

Zeus, and cast lots for Argos, Lacedæmon, and Messene.¹⁸⁶ In all probability the Paternal Zeus of the Heraclidæ, like the Paternal Zeus of Priam, was the three-eyed Pelasgian god.¹⁸⁷

The Greeks, forgetful of their own past, were somewhat puzzled by this type of a triple deity. The explanation usually given was that such and such a god or goddess ruled in three different departments of nature. Thus the triple Hecate, a strange form introduced into art by Alcamenes a contemporary of Pheidias,¹⁸⁸ was regarded by Orphic writers as the mistress of sky, sea, and earth.¹⁸⁹ Tzetzes¹⁹⁰ states that Hermes was three-headed "as being a sky-god, a sea-god, and a land-god." Porphyry¹⁹¹ sug-

¹⁸⁶ Apollod., 2. 8. 4.

¹⁸⁷ H. Usener in his "Dreiheit" (*Rhein. Museum*, 1903, N. F., lviii., 161 ff.) argues that a divine triad, conceived as having three bodies, may degenerate into a single body with three heads or faces or eyes. Thus Hecate, who was usually represented as three complete figures back to back, is often *τρικάρηνος*, a three-headed herm, sometimes *τριπρόσωπος* with a three-faced head, and once at least *τριγλυφος* with a three-eyed face (*ib.*, pp. 163-166, 184). He therefore takes the name Triopas to imply "eine Verkürzung ursprünglicher Dreileibigkeit" (*ib.*, p. 183 ff.). This argument, though I accepted it in *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 75, now appears to me inconclusive. *Three* eyes may be, and probably are, an original equivalent or a later abbreviation for *many* eyes. Further than this we cannot go with safety.

¹⁸⁸ Paus., 2. 30. 2, with Frazer's n., Farnell, ii., 551 ff.

¹⁸⁹ Orph. *Hymn.*, 1. 1 f. είνοδίην Ἐκάτην κλήζω, τριοδῖτιν, ἐρεμνήν, | οὐρανίν χθονίην τε καὶ εἰναλίην, cp. Porphyry *ap.* Euseb. *præp. evang.*, 23. 6, ἀρχεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ Ἐκάτη, ὡς συνέχουσα τὸ τρίστοιχον (sc. air, earth, water). More often the triple Hecate was regarded as a trinity of Selene + Artemis + Persephone, representing the heaven, the earth, and the underworld (Roscher *Lex.*, i., 1890, 43 ff., Farnell, ii., 553).

¹⁹⁰ Tzetz. *in Lyc. Alex.*, 680, Τρικέφαλος· αὐτὸς δὲ Ἐρμῆς, ὡς οὐράνιος, θαλάσσιος καὶ ἐπίγειος. He adds alternative explanations, more far-fetched than this.

¹⁹¹ Porphyry *ap.* Euseb. *præp. evang.*, 4. 23. 6, μήποτε οὗτοι εἰσιν ὅντες δὲ Σάραπις, καὶ τούτων σύμβολον δὲ τρίκρανος κύνων, τουτέστιν δὲ τοῖς τρισὶ στοιχείοις, ὕδατι, γῇ, ἀέρι, πονηρὸς δαιμων· οὓς καταπαίνει δὲ θεός δὲ ἔχων ὑπὸ χεῖρα.

gests that the three-headed hound of Sarapis symbolised the evil spirit that made its appearance "in water, earth, and air." The same explanation served for the three-eyed Zeus. Indeed, in his case it was peculiarly appropriate, since, as we saw at the outset, the primary conception of Zeus as a sky-god had actually given rise to the two secondary conceptions of Zeus as a water-god and Zeus as an earth-god. Hence Pausanias was no fool when, after describing the old image of Zeus on the Argive Larisa, he continued¹⁹²: "The reason why it has three eyes may be conjectured to be the following. All men agree that Zeus reigns in heaven, and there is a verse of Homer which gives the name of Zeus also to the god who is said to bear rule under the earth:—

Both underground Zeus and august Proserpine.

Further, Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, applies the name of Zeus also to the god who dwells in the sea. So the artist, whoever he was, represented Zeus with three eyes, because it is one and the same Zeus who reigns in all the three realms of nature, as they are called." At Corinth the same thought seems to have found a less grotesque expression. "Of the images of Zeus," says Pausanias,¹⁹³ "which are also under the open sky, one has no surname: another is called Subterranean; and the third they name Highest." It is commonly supposed, though the supposition is not quite inevitable, that here too we have a sea-Zeus, an earth-Zeus, and a sky-Zeus.¹⁹⁴

Zeus had a sacred tree, the oak.¹⁹⁵ If we ask why the oak in particular should have been sacred to him, the later

¹⁹² Paus., 2. 24. 4, Frazer.

¹⁹³ Paus., 2. 2. 8, Frazer.

¹⁹⁴ For other possible examples of the Zeus-triad see *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 406 ff. (Cnossus), 416 (Aphrodisias), 417 (Mylasa), xviii., 75 f. (Xanthus), 79 (Phrygia and Galatia), 84 (Eleusis), 84 ff. (Athens).

¹⁹⁵ Schol. Aristoph., *av.* 480, ἐπεὶ οὖν ή δρῦς τοῦ Διός ἐστιν, ἔπαιξε παρὰ τὴν δρῦν, η̄ ἐστιν ιερὰ τοῦ Διός, alib.

Greek writers reply that Zeus was the life-giving god, and that the oak, thanks to its acorns, was the life-supporting tree of primitive man.¹⁹⁶ But it is obvious that this explanation depends for its validity on an etymology that we now know to be mistaken, viz. the supposed connection between the words *Zeus* and ζῆν, “to live.” More probable is the view¹⁹⁷ that the oak represented to the Greeks the Yggdrasill-tree of Germanic mythology. This world-tree (*Weltbaum*), as it used to be called, or cloud-tree (*Wolkenbaum*), as it is termed nowadays, was an enormous ash, which with its three stems¹⁹⁸ spread throughout the world towards heaven and earth and hell.¹⁹⁹ It is described as an ash (*askr*), that being the highest leaf-tree of the north.²⁰⁰ But further south the oak was the principal tree. Consequently the name *askr* was transferred from the ash to the oak: Hesychius mentions ἄσκρα as a kind of oak,²⁰¹ and Zeus Ἀσκραῖος was certainly an oak-god.²⁰² It is,

¹⁹⁶ Cramer *anecd. Gr. Paris.*, iii., 213, 8 ff. φηγὸς ἡ δρῦς, ἦν τῷ Διὶ ὁξ ζφογόνῳ ἀφίερωσαν οἱ παλαιοὶ ζφοτρόφον φυτὸν ονσαν. πάλαι γάρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι δρυκάρποις ἐπέρφεντο, Eustath., 594, 33 ff. οἱ παλαιοὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν Δία, ἥγουν τὸν ἀέρα, ζφῆς εἶναι ἀτίον τοιούτον δὲ καὶ τὴν δρῦν πάλαι ποτὲ χρηματίσαι, ὅτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι δρυκάρποις ἐπέρφεντο, διὸ καὶ φηγὸς ἡ δρῦς λέγεται, παρὰ τὸ φαγεῖν, διὰ τοίνυν ταῦτα τῷ Διὶ τὴν δρῦν ἀνέρωσαν τὸ ζφοτρόφον φυτὸν τῷ ζφογόνῳ, *id.* 664, 35 ff. On the Greek derivation of *Zeus* from ζῆν, a derivation as old as the sixth century B.C., see Gruppe, p. 1101, n., Th. Gomperz *Greek Thinkers*, i., 64, 86. On the oak as the oldest food-tree, P. Wagler *Die Eiche in alter u. neuer Zeit*, i., 34 ff.

¹⁹⁷ Advanced, though without adequate proof, by Prof. Angelo de Gubernatis *La mythologie des plantes*, ii., 65 ff.

¹⁹⁸ J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* trans. Stallybrass, p. 796, says “three roots”; but see E. H. Meyer, *Indogermanische Mythen*, ii., 653, n. “Yggdrasill mit den drei Stämmen (nicht Wurzeln).”

¹⁹⁹ Further details in Grimm *loc. cit.*

²⁰⁰ Bugge *Stud.*, i., 528, cited by E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie*, p. 81.

²⁰¹ Hesych., ἄσκρα · δρῦς ἄκαρπος. O. Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan People*, p. 226, identifies *askr* with ἄσκρα and further connects ἄσπρος or ἄσπρις, a variety of oak spoken of by Theophr. *hist. plant.*, 3. 8. 7.

²⁰² *Infra*, p. 296.

therefore, not surprising to find that the mid-European and south-European equivalent of Yggdrasill's ash was an oak. Throughout Finland, Estonia, and other parts of Russia folk-songs and folk-tales tell of an oak the top of which reaches the sky and supports the sun, who lives on it or goes to rest on it.²⁰³ Thus the Finns believe in an oak with golden branches, which cover the sky. The Estonians, in an oak on which is built a bath-house: the window of this bath-house is the moon, and on its roof the sun and stars disport themselves. Other Russian stories tell how an old man once climbed an oak that towered up to the sky, and found on it a bird, which could not be burnt with fire or drowned in water: how in the island of Bujan grows an oak on which the sun passes the night: &c., &c. In Anjou certain tree-shaped cloud-formation are known as "le chêne de Montsabran" and "le chêne marin": they portend a rain-storm and fine weather respectively.²⁰⁴ That in the Greek area also the oak was at one time a world-tree is far from improbable. The fleece of the golden ram (= the sun²⁰⁵) hung on an oak in Colchis and guarded by a sleepless snake²⁰⁶ certainly recalls the Russian oak on which the sun goes to rest guarded by the dragon Garafena.²⁰⁷ But more direct evidence is available. Clement of Alexandria²⁰⁸ has preserved a fragment of a work by Isidorus, son of Basilides, in which he says: "I would have our would-be philosophers learn the meaning of the winged oak-tree and the embroidered mantle upon it, in fact of the whole allegory which Pherecydes took from the prophecy of Cham and

²⁰³ A. de Gubernatis, *Myth. des Plantes*, i., 94, ii., 76 f., Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 375 f.

²⁰⁴ P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-lore de France*, i. 128.

²⁰⁵ *Supra*, p. 271.

²⁰⁶ Apollod., i. 9. 16.

²⁰⁷ A. de Gubernatis, *Myth. des Plantes*, ii. 77, after Mannhardt.

²⁰⁸ Clem. Alex. *strom.*, 6. 6, p. 767, 32 ff. Potter, καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ τοὺς προσποιουμένους φιλοσοφεῖν, ἵνα μάθωσι τί ἐστιν ἡ ὑπόπτερος δρῦς καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ πεποικιλμένον φάρος, πάντα δτα Φερεκίδης ἀλληγορήσας ἔθεολόγησεν λαβών ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Χάμ προφητείας.

used in his own theology." Clement and Isidorus are alike intent upon showing that the Greeks borrowed all their wisdom from the Hebrews, so that we may probably discount "the prophecy of Cham." It is at least as likely that Pherecydes of Syros, who was a prominent Orphic teacher at Athens about the middle of the sixth century B.C., worked into his philosophic speculations a bit of genuine Greek folk-lore. In another passage²⁰⁹ Clement quotes a sentence from Pherecydes himself: "*Zas made a great and beautiful mantle and embroidered thereon the earth and Ogenos and the abode of Ogenos.*" Ogenos was Oceanus,²¹⁰ so that the embroidered mantle represented both land and sea. Further light on the matter could hardly have been looked for. But, by a singular stroke of good fortune, a papyrus-scrap of the third century A.D., acquired by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt²¹¹ for the Bodleian Library, was found to contain a couple of columns from the *Πεντέμυχος*, the lost work of Pherecydes; which columns give us the context of the very sentence quoted by Clement. It now becomes clear that Pherecydes was describing the marriage of Zeus and Hera.²¹² Zas or Zeus, among other preparations for the ceremony, made a richly-dight mantle representing land and sea, and apparently spread the same (by way of bridal couch?) on the summit of a winged oak. In view of the

²⁰⁹ *Ib.*, 6. 2, p. 741, 16 ff. Potter, Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος λέγει · Ζὰς ποιεῖ φάρος μέγα τε καὶ καλὸν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ποικίλλει γῆν καὶ Ὄγηνον καὶ τὰ Ὄγήνου δώματα.

²¹⁰ Tzetz. in Lyc. Alex., 231, τοῦ Ὄγένον καὶ Ὁκεανοῦ, Hesych., Ὄγήν· Ωκεανός.

²¹¹ B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, Second Series, No. 11, p. 21 ff., pl. 4.

²¹² Cp. Eratosth. *cataster.*, 3, Φερεκύδης γάρ φησι, ὅτε ἐγαμεῖτο ἡ Ἡρα ὑπὸ Διός, φερόντων αὐτῇ τῶν θεῶν δῶρα τὴν Γῆν ἐλθεῖν φέρουσαν τὰ χρύσεα μῆλα · ἰδούσαν δὲ τὴν Ἡραν θαυμάσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν καταφυτεῦσαι εἰς τὸν τῶν θεῶν κῆπον, δεξὶ δὲ τῷ παρὰ τῷ Ἀτλαντὶ · ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου παρθένων ἀεὶ ὑφαιρουμένων τῶν μήλων κατίστησε φύλακα τὸν ὄψιν ὑπερμεγέθη ὄντα. Here too we have a snake-guarded tree brought into connexion with the supporter of the sky.

world-oak or cloud-oak of central and southern Europe, we may well regard the "winged oak" of Pherecydes as a similar cosmogonic tree.²¹³

Both the sky-tree and the sky-god had their counterparts on earth. Corresponding to the celestial oak that formed the residence of Zeus, an ordinary terrestrial oak marked each centre of Zeus-worship among men. In the *Classical Review* for 1903-1904²¹⁴ I have collected most of the evidence bearing on this point. Here I may be allowed to quote a few typical or outstanding examples, premising that in every case, so far as I can judge, they may be referred to the Pelasgian stratum of Greek religion. The Pelasgian Zeus *Náios* at Dodona had a sacred oak growing in a sacred oak-grove: his oracles were given by the rustling of its branches, by an intermittent spring at its foot, by a golden dove (or two doves, or three) perched upon it, &c.²¹⁵ Zeus *"Αμυων* in the Libyan Oasis seems to have been the god of a very early Greek settlement: he too had an oracular oak in an oak-grove, a variable spring, sacred birds (two ravens, or a dove), and methods of divination that resembled those of the Dodonæan Zeus.²¹⁶ Coins of Phaestus in Crete represent Zeus *Φελχανος* as a youthful god seated in an oak and holding a cock on his knee: since *Velchanos* is commonly supposed to be the same word as *Volcanus*, and

²¹³ Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, i., 89, conjectures "that the garment spread by Zas over the winged oak was merely a pictorial expression of the belief that the kernel or framework of earth was adorned by this first principle of life with the beauty that it now wears."

²¹⁴ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 174-186, 268-278, 403-421; xviii., 75-89, 325-328.

²¹⁵ *Ib.*, xvii., 178-186, 408.

²¹⁶ *Ib.*, xvii., 403 f. To the passages that I have there cited as proving the existence of a sacred oak and an oak-grove at the Ammonium (*viz.*, Clem. Alex. *protr.*, II Dindorf = Euseb. *præp. evang.*, 2. 3 Dindorf, γεράνδρουν δὲ φάμοις ἐρήμας τετιμημένον καὶ τὸ αὐτόθι μαντεῖον αὐτῇ δρυν̄ μεμαρασμένον μύθοις γεγηρακόσι καταλείψατε, Sil. Ital., 3. 688 ff., mox subitum nemus atque annoso robore lucus | exiluit, qualesque premunt nunc sidera quercus | a prima uenere die : prisco inde pauore | arbor numen habet coliturque tepentibus aris) should be added Plin. *nat. hist.*, 13. 63, circa Thebas haec, ubi et quercus et persea et oliua, CCC a Nilo stadiis, siluestri tractu et suis fontibus riguo.

the cock—Pausanias tells us—was sacred to the Sun, it would appear that Zeus Φελχαῖος was a fire-god or sun-god conceived as residing in an oak.²¹⁷ Zeus Ἀσκραιός, the “Oak”-god of the Carians and Lydians, figures on coins of Halicarnassus as a bearded deity crowned with rays and standing between two oak-trees, on each of which is a bird: the rayed crown implies that Zeus was here solar, and the two birds suggest that he was oracular.²¹⁸ In Pamphylia Zeus bore the title Δρύμιος, “he of the Oak-thicket.”²¹⁹ In Phrygia he was Βαγαῖος, the “Oak”-god.²²⁰ At Troy grew “the fine oak of ægis-bearing Zeus,” as Homer calls it, on which Athena and Apollo sat in the form of eagles.²²¹ At Heraclea Pontica two oaks had been planted by Heracles beside the altar of Zeus Στράτιος.²²² At Scotussa in the Pelasgian district of Thessaly Zeus was worshipped as Φηγοναῖος, “he who dwells in the Oak.”²²³ And in Aegina the oak beneath which Aeacus had prayed was “sacred to Zeus.”²²⁴ In short, all round the Aegean Sea we come across traces of an oak-Zeus, *i.e.*, of a Zeus believed to reside in or on an oak-tree.

But just as the world-tree varied from ash to oak in passing from north to south of Europe, so the tree that marked the residence of Zeus on earth differed in different localities. Substitutes for the oak were the poplar, the olive, the plane, &c., according to local changes of vegetation. It should, however, be remarked that all these trees were called by names elsewhere used to denote the oak; and further, that it is always possible to trace some botanical resemblance between the oak and its surrogate.

²¹⁷ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 413, fig. 8.

²¹⁸ *Ib.*, xvii., 415 f., fig. 10.

²¹⁹ *Ib.*, xvii., 419.

²²⁰ *Ib.*, xviii., 79.

²²¹ *Ib.*, xviii., 78.

²²² *Ib.*, xviii., 79 f.

²²³ *Ib.*, xvii., 414.

²²⁴ *Ib.*, xvii., 405.

Schrader²²⁵ points out that *αἴγειρος*, "a poplar," is derived from the same root as *αἴγιλωψ*, "the winter- or Valonia-oak," *αἴγαρένη*, "an oaken spear," *aesculus* (*aegsculus), "an evergreen oak," *Eiche*, "an oak,"—is in fact the same word as our own *oak*. This change of meaning probably arose in some district where the poplar, not the oak, was the finest tree.²²⁶ It would be facilitated by the fact that some sorts of poplar resemble in foliage some sorts of oak. Thus Pausanias,²²⁷ describing a species of oak called *παιδέρως*, says: "Its leaves are less than those of the oak, but larger than those of the evergreen oak: in shape they resemble oak leaves: one side of them is blackish, the other is white: their colour may be best likened to that of the leaves of the white poplar." Nicander²²⁸ speaks of this same tree as "the equivalent of the white poplar." This similarity between oak and poplar was in all probability the reason why the white poplar was sacred to Zeus at Olympia. When Heracles first sacrificed to him there he burned the victims "on wood of the white poplar"²²⁹ and ever afterwards the Eleans used no other wood for the sacrifices of Zeus.²³⁰ Indeed, at Lepreum, an Elean town some fifteen miles from Olympia, Zeus was surnamed *Λευκαῖος*, "he of the White Poplar" (*λεύκη*).²³¹ Coins of Sardes show Zeus *Λύδιος* holding a sceptre and perhaps an

²²⁵ Schrader *Reallex.*, pp. 164, 207.

²²⁶ In the opinion of Dr. W. Leaf the white poplar is nowadays the finest tree in Greece: see his note on *Il.*, 13. 389.

²²⁷ Paus., 2. 10. 6, Frazer.

²²⁸ Nicand. *frag.* 2. 55 f. *παιδός ἔρωτες | λεύκη ἰσαιόμενοι.*

²²⁹ Paus., 5. 14. 2. Heracles had found the white poplar growing on the banks of the Acheron (cp. *Il.*, 13. 389 *ἀχερώις* and Eustath. 938, 62 ff.); for Hades, the earth-Zeus, had carried off Leuce, the white-poplar nymph, to his realm below, and had caused white poplars to grow in the Elysian fields (Serv. in Verg. *ecl.*, 7. 61). See further C. Bötticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen*, p. 441 ff.

²³⁰ Paus., 5. 13. 3, 5. 14. 2.

²³¹ Paus., 5. 5. 5, with Frazer's *n.*

eagle as he stands beneath a poplar tree.²³² And in the mouth of the Idæan Cave, where Zeus Κρηταγενῆς was thought to dwell, there grew a marvellous poplar that was said to bear fruit.²³³

Elsewhere the principal tree was the olive, and Zeus was connected with olives. This was the case at Athens, where Zeus Μόριος was guardian of the sacred olive-trees called the *μορίαι ἐλαῖαι*.²³⁴ That the Greeks traced a similarity between the oak and the olive is clear from the fact that they sometimes called the Valonia-oak *ἐλαῖς*, *i.e.* the "olive"-oak.²³⁵ Probably, as in the case of the white poplar, it was the combination of a light surface with a dark which suggested the comparison.²³⁶ Similarly a species of wild-olive termed *φυλία* is described as "resembling the evergreen oak."²³⁷ The wild-olive was sacred to Zeus at Olympia, having been brought there by Heracles from the land of the Hyperboreans to supply a dearth of trees: it had this peculiarity, that the upper, not the under, side of its leaves was white.²³⁸

In Crete the finest tree is the plane.²³⁹ Tradition said that Zeus had consorted with Europa at Gortyn under an evergreen plane. This tree, on account of its remarkable foliage, Theophrastus compared with an oak growing at Sybaris;²⁴⁰ and coins of Gortyn show a female figure seated in a tree that is sometimes a plane, more often an oak.²⁴¹

²³² *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 418, fig. 15.

²³³ *Ib.*, xvii., 407. Other examples of the poplar as a substitute for the oak in Greek mythology are cited *ib.*, xvii., 181, 273, 419 *n.* 3, xviii., 76.

²³⁴ *Ib.*, xviii., 86 f.

²³⁵ Hesych., *ἐλαῖς* + *αἰγιλωψ*.

²³⁶ The word *φανλία* could denote both a kind of olive and the white poplar (Hesych. *s.v.* *φανλία*).

²³⁷ Hesych. *s.v.* *φυλεῖης*.

²³⁸ *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 273. On the olive as a substitute for the oak see further *ib.* xviii., 82, *n.* 2.

²³⁹ Höck, *Kreta*, i., 40.

²⁴⁰ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 404.

²⁴¹ *Ib.*, xvii., 405.

The plane-tree by Agamemnon's hut at Aulis, and the plane-trees planted by him at Delphi and at Caphyæ in Arcadia, have probably a similar significance; for in Laconia, if not also in Attica, there was a cult of Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων.²⁴²

Other trees are connected with Zeus on occasion. Zeus Συκάσιος was named after the fig-tree.²⁴³ Zeus Ἐλικώνιος, after Mount Helicon, which perhaps means the mountain of "willow"-woods (*ἔλικη*).²⁴⁴ Zeus bearing an eagle is enthroned with a palm-tree before him on a coin of Alexander the Great.²⁴⁵ And the use of Διὸς βάλανος, "the acorn of Zeus," as a name for the chestnut²⁴⁶ implies that the god stood in some special relation to this tree also.

As the celestial tree had its counterpart in the terrestrial, so the sky-god himself had a visible representative on earth. The traditional epithets of the Homeric kings, "Zeus-born" (*Διογενής*), "Zeus-nurtured" (*Διοτρεφής*), "divine" (*Δῖος*), "god-like" (*θεοειδής*, *θεοείκελος*, *ἀντίθεος*, *ἰσόθεος*), and the stock phrase, "to honour such an one like a god" (*θεὸν ὡς*), were doubtless conventional formulæ on the lips of the Pelasgian minstrel; but they were based on

²⁴² *Ib.*, xvii., 277. See also Bötticher, *Baumkultus*, p. 117. The plane as a mythical equivalent of the oak occurs also in the story of Helen: cp. the plane-tree of Helen at Sparta (Theocr., 18. 44 ff.) with the oak-tree on which she hanged herself in Rhodes (Ptolem. *nov. hist.*, 4, p. 189 Westermann).

²⁴³ Eustath., 1572, 56 f. λέγεται δὲ καὶ συκάσιος Ζεὺς παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὁ καθάροις τῷ γάρ συκῇ ἔχοντο, φασιν, ἐν καθαρμοῖς: see Höfner in Roscher *Lex.*, ii., 2560. Hesych. s.v. φυλεῖης says: "φυλία is a kind of wild-olive, or according to others of fig-tree, while others again describe it as a species of tree resembling the evergreen oak."

²⁴⁴ For Zeus Ἐλικώνιος see Hes. *theog.*, 4, and schol. *ad loc.* Yet one name for the Valonia-oak was Ἐλιξ (Hesych. s.v.); Call. *hymn. Del.*, 81 ff., mentions oaks and oak-nymphs on Mt. Helicon; and "Ασκρα, the "Oak"-town, lay at its foot.

²⁴⁵ M. W. de Visser, *de Græcorum diis non referentibus speciem humanam*, p. 122. Cp. *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 410.

²⁴⁶ Stephanus, *Thesaurus Gr. Ling.* ii., 69 c-d.

an old Pelasgian belief that the king was indeed divine,²⁴⁷ being none other than Zeus incarnate. That this was so, I infer partly from a consideration of several early Greek myths, partly from the occasional recrudescence of the belief in historical times, and lastly from the direct testimony of ancient authors.

Let us take the myths first. The story of Salmoneus is given with most detail by Apollodorus,²⁴⁸ who says: "Salmoneus . . . came to Elis and founded a town there. He was a proud man and fain to place himself on a level with Zeus; for which impiety he was punished. For he declared that he was Zeus, and depriving Zeus of his sacrifices he bade men offer them to himself. He attached to a chariot leather thongs with bronze caldrons and trailing them after him said that he was thundering; he tossed blazing torches towards the sky and said that he was lightening. Zeus therefore struck him with a thunderbolt and destroyed the town founded by him and all its inhabitants." The mythographer of course, judging from a later standpoint, regards Salmoneus as a paragon of impiety. But, that he was no such exceptional sinner, appears from the case of his own sister Alcyone. "Ceyx, son of Heosphorus, married Alcyone. They perished through their overweening pride. For Ceyx declared that his wife was Hera; Alcyone, that her husband was Zeus. Zeus then changed them into birds, making the one a halcyon, the other a ceyx."²⁴⁹ Apollodorus must needs tax them both with superhuman conceit: but in point of fact they were within their rights. The same primitive custom perhaps underlies the legend²⁵⁰ that Polytechnus and Aëdon

²⁴⁷ This belief is rather near the surface in such a passage as *Il.*, 24. 258 f., where Priam speaks of his son "Hector, who was a god ($\thetaεός$) among men, nor was he like unto the son of a mortal man, but of a god ($\thetaεοῖο$)."

²⁴⁸ Apollod., I. 9. 7.

²⁴⁹ *Ib.*, I. 7. 4.

²⁵⁰ Anton. Lib., II. See *Class Rev.*, xviii. 80 f.

impiously claimed to love each other more fondly than Zeus and Hera. Again, Agamemnon king of Mycenæ was called Zeus in Laconia.²⁵¹ So was Amphiaraüs son of Oicles at Oropus.²⁵² So was Trophonius son of Erginus at Lebadea,²⁵³ where Zeus also bore the significant title, Βασιλεύς, "the King."²⁵⁴ According to Panodorus, Zeus reigned as a king in Egypt for twenty years; according to Manetho, for eighty.²⁵⁵ The tale that Zeus visited Alcmena in the form of Amphitryon perhaps had a similar foundation²⁵⁶; and this may have been the case with several other "Liebesverbindungen" of Zeus.²⁵⁷ Conversely, the relations of Ixion to Hera,²⁵⁸ of Tantalus to Dione,²⁵⁹ &c., point in the same direction.

Even in historical times it was no unheard of thing for a man to be regarded as a god. Empedocles in the fifth century B.C. addresses his fellow-townsmen of Agrigentum thus²⁶⁰: "Friends . . . all hail! Lo, as an immortal god, no longer a mortal, I make my way honoured of

²⁵¹ Lyc. *Alex.*, 1124, Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάτας αἰμόλοις κληθήσεται, 1369 f., πρῶτος μὲν ἡξει Ζηνὶ τῷ Δαπερσίῳ | δύωνυμος Ζεύς, cp. 335. *Supra*, p. 299, n. 242.

²⁵² Dicæarch., i. 6, τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου Διὸς ἵεροῦ. See Rohde *Psyche*,³ i., 125, n. 2.

²⁵³ Strab., 414, Διὸς Τροφωνίου μαντεῖον. See Rohde, *ib.*, n. 1.

²⁵⁴ C. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, 589, 90 εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βασιλέως κ.τ.λ., 1115 Νέων Φασκά[γδαο] ἀγωνοθετεῖ[σας] τὰ Βασιλεῖα τὸ ἐληοχρίστιον] ἀνέθεικε τοῖ [Δι] τοῖ Βασιλε[ῖ] εὐ[η] τῇ πόλι, 1392, 8 f. τῷ Δὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ καὶ τῷ Τρεφωνίῳ ιαρόν.

²⁵⁵ C. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, ii., 531, E. A. Wallis Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, i., 165.

²⁵⁶ Class. Rev., xvii., 409. Just as Heracles was the seed of Zeus, but Iphicles of Amphitryon, so in another myth Dardanus and Iasius were the sons of Electra, "sed Dardanus de Iove, Iasius de Corytho procreatus est" (*Serv. in Verg. Aen.*, 3. 167).

²⁵⁷ On these see Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie* Zeus, i., 398 ff.

²⁵⁸ Class. Rev., xvii., 420.

²⁵⁹ Hyg. *fab.*, 9, 82, 83.

²⁶⁰ Emped. *frag.*, 112 Diels, ὁ φίλοι . . . χαίρετ' · ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεδς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θυητός κ.τ.λ.

all, as is fitting, crowned with fillets and green garlands. Whencever with them, both men and women, I come to a flourishing town, there am I worshipped. They follow along with me in countless throngs, fain to enquire what is the path to prosperity : some ask for oracles ; others in all manner of diseases hear and hearken to my healing voice, albeit long pierced with sore pains." Since the historicity of Lycurgus the Spartan law-giver is still a moot point,²⁶¹ I will not appeal to the fact that in later days he was worshipped as a god (*θεός*).²⁶² But after the battle of Aegospotami in 405 B.C. another Spartan, Lysander, was certainly recognised as a god : altars were erected to him, offerings brought, and pæans sung, while the Samians actually changed the name of their immemorial festival, the *Heræa*, to *Lysandrea* in his honour.²⁶³ At Athens Cratinus more than once spoke of Pericles as *Zeus*,²⁶⁴ and a well-known passage in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes²⁶⁵ says :

" Then Pericles the Olympian in wrath
Lightened and thundered and confounded Greece."

These phrases of the comedians voiced a belief that had been latent among the Athenians for centuries. The popular champion was the embodiment of Zeus. Hence, when Demetrius Poliorcetes entered Athens in 302 B.C., "the people received him not only with frankincense and garlands and libations of wine, but also with processions

²⁶¹ G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, i., 569, n. 1.

²⁶² *Ib.*, 578, n. 2.

²⁶³ Plut., *vit. Lys.*, 18, Athen., 696 E, Hesych., s.v. Λυσάνδρεια.

²⁶⁴ Plut., *vit. Per.*, 3, δέ μὲν Κρατῖνος ἐν Χείρωσι · "Στάσις δὲ (φησὶ) καὶ πρεσβυγενῆς Κρόνος ἀλλήλοισι μιγέντε μέγιστον | τίκτετον τύραννον, | δὲ δὴ κεφαληγερέταν θεοὶ καλέονται" · καὶ πάλιν ἐν Νεμέσει · "μόλ", ὁ Ζεὺς ξένιε καὶ καρατέ," 13 καὶ πάλιν Κρατῖνος ἐν Θρῆσταις παιζεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν · "ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε προσέρχεται | Πειρικλέης" κ.τ.λ. Aspasia he dubbed Hera (Plut. *vit. Per.*, 24, schol. Plat., p. 391), as did Eupolis apparently (Hesych. s.v. βοῶπις).

²⁶⁵ Aristoph., *Ach.*, 530 f.

and choruses and phallic companies, dancing and singing the while : as they sang and danced, they crowded after him, chanting that he was the one true god ($\thetaεός$), the other gods being asleep or away from home or non-existent.”²⁶⁶ Demetrius must have posed as Zeus ; for on the spot where he descended from his horse was built a sanctuary of Demetrius Καταιβάτης,²⁶⁷ as though he were Zeus Καταιβάτης ; his title Πολιορκητής was perhaps an ambitious imitation of Zeus Πολιεύς or Πολιούχος ;²⁶⁸ and a mantle woven expressly for him is described as “a superb piece of work made to represent the universe and the celestial bodies.”²⁶⁹ Alexander the Great was regarded not merely as the son of Zeus,²⁷⁰ but as Zeus himself: he was painted by Apelles holding a thunderbolt,²⁷¹ i.e. with the universally acknowledged attribute of Zeus. Even Menecrates of Syracuse, court-physician to Philip of Macedon, assumed the title Menecrates Ζεύς on account of his life-giving powers and went about wearing a purple robe and a golden crown to look the part.²⁷² Examples could be multiplied ; for among the Hellenistic successors of Alexander cases of deification are common.²⁷³ If I am right in my conjecture, they must be considered as due to a recrudescence of the early Pelasgian belief in the essential divinity of the king.

Finally, Tzetzes, whose authority in matters of mythology is not small, definitely asserts that the ancient Greeks used to call their kings “Zeuses” ($Δίες$). Thus, for

²⁶⁶ Athen., 253 c. The words of the ithyphallic song, a remarkable composition, are quoted in the sequel.

²⁶⁷ Clem. Alex., *protrept.*, 4. 54, p. 48 Potter.

²⁶⁸ Plut. *vit. Demetr.*, 42.

²⁶⁹ *Ib.*, 41.

²⁷⁰ Callisth. *ap.* Strab., 814; Ephipp. *ap.* Athen., 537 E.

²⁷¹ Plin. *nat. hist.*, 35. 92. See further *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 404, n. 1.

²⁷² Athen., 289 A-290 A; Plut. *vit. Ages.*, 21; Ael. *var. hist.*, 12. 51.

²⁷³ See e.g. Dr. F. F. Hiller von Gärtringen in Pauly-Wissowa, ii., 186 ff., and the literature cited in *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 278, n. 1.

instance, after telling us that Minos was the son of Zeus Ἀστέριος, he adds: “In by-gone days it was customary to call all kings Zeuses.” This statement, which is repeated several times by him in different connections,²⁷⁴ was clearly one of his regular canons of interpretation. Nor does Tzetzes stand alone in the matter. The famous grave of Zeus on Mt. Jukta in Crete, which according to one account²⁷⁵ bore the inscription—

ἄδε θανὼν κεῖται Ζᾶν, ὃν Δία κυκλήσκοντων
“Here lies dead Zan, whom men call Zeus,”—

according to others²⁷⁶ was the tomb of King Minos. On this and other grounds it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Minos was held to be a human embodiment of Zeus.²⁷⁷ He was in fact one of those “consecrated men whom the Greeks call *Zanes*”—to quote a much misunderstood phrase from Macrobius.²⁷⁸ Further, if Minos was a man-god of this sort, we can understand the contention of Euhemerus²⁷⁹—which took such a hold upon the imagination of the Romans²⁸⁰—that Zeus had been a former king of Crete.

It appears, then, that mythology, history, and literature alike bear witness to the early Greek belief that the king was a human Zeus. Now we have seen that Zeus, primarily the god of the bright sky, became both a water-god and an

²⁷⁴ Tzetz. *antehom.*, 102, *oi πρὶν γάρ τε Δίας πάντας κάλεον βασιλῆας, chil.*, I. 474 τὸν βασιλεῖς δὲ ἀνέκαθε Δίας ἐκάλουν πάντας, 2. 160 τὸ δὲ ὅπως πάντας βασιλεῖς Δίας ἐκάλουν, εἶπον, cp. 164 τὰς βασιλίδας δὲ θεάς, 174 ὁ Ζεὺς ἑκεῖνος βασιλεύς, 197 Ζεύς τις ὑπάρχων βασιλεύς, 5.454 Δίας γάρ πρὶν *oi* “Ελληνες τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκάλουν, 9.454 τὸν πρὶν γάρ πάντας βασιλεῖς Δίας *oi* πρὶν ἐκάλουν, in Lyc. Alex., 88 Δίας *oi* παλαιοὶ πάντας ἐκάλουν τοὺς βασιλεῖς.

²⁷⁵ Porph. *vit Pyth.*, 17; cp. Enn., *frag.* 526 Bährens.

²⁷⁶ Schol. Call. *hymn. Iov.*, 8.

²⁷⁷ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 406 ff.

²⁷⁸ Macrob. *Sat.*, 3. 7. 6, *animas vero sacratorum hominum, quos Zanas Græci vocant, dis debitas aestimabant*. See further *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 412.

²⁷⁹ Höck, *Kreta*, iii., 331 ff.

²⁸⁰ E.g. Lactant., *div. inst.*, I. 11, Firm. Mat., 6. 1, 16. 1.

earth-god. Certain functions of the human Zeus too may be grouped under the same three headings. As vicegerent of the bright sky-god he had control of the sun, and was expected to feed its flames. As representing the god of showers and storms, he could cause rain to fall or evoke a sudden thunderstorm. As an earth-god incarnate, he was responsible for the crops in their season, and after death became a ruler in the underworld. Traces of all these powers can be detected here and there among the remnants of Greek legendary lore and ritual practice.

Minos, for example, married Pasiphae, a daughter of Helios,²⁸¹ and received as a present from Hephaestus or Zeus the bronze man Talos,²⁸² whose name means "the sun."²⁸³ Solar, too, in character were the Labyrinth, which was represented by a *swastika* pattern,²⁸⁴ and the Minotaur within it.²⁸⁵ Minos, therefore, was believed to have the sun in his custody. Aeetes also, whose father was Helios, possessed the fleece of the golden ram that symbolised the sun.²⁸⁶ Atreus prided himself upon a golden lamb, again a solar symbol, which he kept shut up in a coffer. Thyestes stole it by guile, and then declared to the people that the man who owned the golden lamb ought to be king. To this Atreus agreed; and it looked as though the kingdom would pass from him to Thyestes. But Zeus sent Hermes and bade Atreus make a compact about the kingdom, informing him that he was about to cause the sun to travel backwards. Atreus made the compact, and the sun set in the east. This miracle was accepted as proof of Atreus'

²⁸¹ Roscher, *Lex.*, iii., 1666, where Türk observes that Πασιφαής is an epithet of Helios (Orph. *Hymn.*, 8. 13 f., ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ, | εὗδε, πασιφαές, κόσμον τὸ περιόρμον ὅμιλα).

²⁸² Apollod., 1. 9. 26; Ap. Rhod., 4. 1641.

²⁸³ *Supra*, p. 273, n. 62.

²⁸⁴ *Class Rev.*, xvii., 410 f.

²⁸⁵ Ib., 410, *supra*, p. 272.

²⁸⁶ *Supra*, pp. 271 f., 293 f.

fitness for the throne; and Thyestes was driven into banishment.²⁸⁷ Perdiccas, the first king of the Temenid dynasty in Macedonia, acquired the kingdom in the following way. On reaching the country he and his two elder brothers took service with the king of Lebæa as herdsmen. The king, alarmed by an omen, dismissed them; and when they demanded their pay offered them, in a fit of infatuation, the sunlight that was streaming into the house through the chimney. The two elder brothers stood and gaped: but Perdiccas with a knife traced the contour of the sun on the floor, and having thrice drawn the sunshine into his bosom departed. Ultimately he won the kingdom to which he had thus established his claim.²⁸⁸

Not only was the sun-king, as these myths show, thought to possess and control the solar orb, but he was also bound to feed its flames. In Crete Talos renewed his heat by leaping into a fire;²⁸⁹ and the oak-Zeus was served elsewhere by enormous bonfires kindled from time to time on the hill-tops. Appian²⁹⁰ has preserved an interesting account of a sacrifice to Zeus Στράτιος. "Mithradates," he says, "offered sacrifice to Zeus Stratius on a lofty pile of wood on a high hill according to the fashion of his country, which is as follows. First, the kings themselves carry wood to the heap. Then they make a smaller pile encircling the other one, on which they pour milk, honey, wine, oil, and various kinds of incense. A banquet is spread on the ground for those present . . . and then they set fire to the wood. The height of the flame is such that it can be seen at a distance of 1,000 stades (125 miles) from the sea, and they say that nobody can come near it for several days on account of the heat." This description

²⁸⁷ Schol. *H.*, 2. 106.

²⁸⁸ Hdt., 8. 137 f.

²⁸⁹ Semonid. *ap.* Suid. s.v. Σαρδάνιος γέλως, Eustath., 1893, 7.

²⁹⁰ App. *bell. Mithr.*, 66, White.

recalls Pausanias' ²⁹¹ account of the bonfire on the top of Cithæron kindled once in sixty years at the Great Dædala, when the oak-brides of Zeus were burnt. "On the summit of the mountain an altar has been got ready. They make it in this fashion:—They put together quadrangular blocks of wood, fitting them into each other, just in the same way as if they were constructing an edifice of stone. Then, having raised it to a height, they pile brushwood on it. The cities and the magistrates sacrifice each a cow to Hera and a bull to Zeus, and burn the victims, which are filled with wine and incense, together with the images (*i.e.*, the oak-brides) on the altar. Rich people sacrifice what they please: persons who are not so well off sacrifice the lesser cattle; but all the victims alike are burned. The fire seizes on the altar as well as the victims, and consumes them all together. I know of no blaze that rises so high, and is seen so far." It is highly probable that both these bonfires were intended not merely as a means of sending food, &c., aloft to the sky-god,²⁹² but also as a sun-charm—the great conflagration replenishing the solar powers of the oak-Zeus.²⁹³ Coins of Amasia, which illustrate the Pontic rite show a large altar, sometimes of two stages and flaming: beside it are two trees with twisted trunks, and above it in some specimens hovers an eagle or the sun-god in his chariot or both.²⁹⁴ Appian's phrase "the kings themselves carry wood to the heap" tersely expresses the primitive duty of the sun-king.²⁹⁵

But this duty was not confined to an occasional bonfire on a big scale. Fires were normally burning before the tree that marked the residence of the god. Thus Silius Italicus says of the oracular oak in the Libyan Ammonium:

²⁹¹ Paus., 9. 3. 6 ff., Frazer.

²⁹² Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii., 278, Roscher, *Lex. i.*, 2620.

²⁹³ Cp. Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² iii., 300 ff.

²⁹⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Pontus, &c., pp. xvii., 12, pl. 2, 2-6.

²⁹⁵ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 180 f., 185, xviii., 78, 80, 84.

"The tree has a god within it and is worshipped with flaming altars."²⁹⁶ This statement is borne out by the coin-types of Asia Minor. Coins of Aphrodisias in Caria represent a sacred tree fenced in and flanked by two lighted altars:²⁹⁷ coins of Attuda, a tree with a single lighted altar in front of it.²⁹⁸ Coins of Sardes show Zeus Λύδιος on a pedestal beneath a poplar-tree: before him blazes a large altar decorated with figures in relief; and amid the flames can be distinguished the heads of four bulls.²⁹⁹ On coins of Mastaura in Lydia a lighted altar stands garlanded beside a cypress-tree.³⁰⁰ Coins of Mostene have the same scene with the addition of a male figure on horseback carrying a double-axe and wearing a crown of rays: the radiate crown proves the solar character of the rider.³⁰¹ An altar in front of a tree planted beside a temple of Zeus occurs on coins of Diocæsarea in Cilicia.³⁰² An altar by a tree figures repeatedly on coins of Amasia in Pontus.³⁰³ A coin of Prusa in Bithynia represents Caracalla, sceptre in hand, sacrificing at an altar, which burns before a tree: above the tree is an eagle.³⁰⁴ And, lastly, a coin of Elaea in Aeolis shows a male figure in military costume, probably Herennius Etruscus, sacrificing at a lighted altar placed beneath a tree.^{304a}

Between such altars and the perpetual fires or lamps of Greek religion no sharp distinction can be drawn. Plutarch does not mention the altars that flamed before the oak of the Ammonium; but he does tell us that a perpetual lamp

²⁹⁶ Sil. Ital., 3. 691. See *supra*, p. 295, n. 216.

²⁹⁷ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 416, fig. 13.

²⁹⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Caria, &c., p. 66, pl. 10, 17.

²⁹⁹ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 418, fig. 15.

³⁰⁰ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Lydia, p. 159, pl. 17, 4.

³⁰¹ *Ib.*, pp. lxxvi., 162 ff., pl. 17, 10, 12, 14.

³⁰² *Ib.*, Lycaonia, &c., p. 72, pl. 12, 14.

³⁰³ *Ib.*, Pontus, &c., pp. 8, 10, 11, 12.

³⁰⁴ *Ib.*, p. 197, pl. 35, 7.

^{304a} *Ib.*, Troas, &c., p. 132, pl. 26, 7.

was burning there, and adds that every year it used less oil, whence the priests inferred that the years were getting shorter and shorter.³⁰⁵ Apparently they believed that the annual orbit of the sun regulated, or rather was regulated by, their lamps—a belief which might indeed “utterly abolish the science of mathematics,”³⁰⁶ but was for all that by no means inconsistent with the pretensions of primitive man.³⁰⁷ Now the cult of Zeus “Αμμων” was thoroughly typical of the Pelasgian Zeus-cult in general. It is therefore probable that the same simple-minded belief obtained elsewhere, and that the maintenance of the sun’s heat was commonly connected with (perhaps thought to depend on) the up-keep of the perpetual fire or lamp. This—and, I venture to hold, nothing short of this—will explain the consternation felt when the flame by some accident was extinguished: there was then a danger that the sun itself might fail. This enables us also to understand why such fires among the Greeks were tended by women past the age of child-bearing: the perpetual fire represented the sun, and the idea that women may be impregnated by the sun is common to Greece and many other lands.³⁰⁸ Lastly, the same hypothesis will account for the method by which the Greeks re-kindled their perpetual fires when there was need to do so. Plutarch³⁰⁹ says: “In Greece where they have a perpetual fire, at Pytho and Athens for example, it is tended not by virgins, but by women too old to marry. Should it by any chance go out, as the sacred lamp at Athens is said to have done during the tyranny of Aristion and that at Delphi when the temple was burnt by the Medes, whilst during the Mithridatic and Social Wars at Rome the fire disappeared

³⁰⁵ Plut. *de def. orac.*, 2.

³⁰⁶ Plut., *ib.*, 3.

³⁰⁷ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² i., 115 ff.

³⁰⁸ *Ib.*, iii., 220 ff.

³⁰⁹ Plut. *vit. Num.*, 9. Similarly the need-fire of the Lemnians was fetched, not indeed from the sun, but from Delos, the island of the sun-god (Philostrat., *heroica*, p. 740).

along with the altar, they say that it must not be lighted from any other fire, but that they must make it fresh and new by rekindling a pure and unpolluted flame from the sun. They usually do this by means of concave mirrors, whose shape is determined by the revolution of an isosceles rectangular triangle, so that all the lines from the circumference meet at a centre. When therefore the mirror is held over against the sun, it collects all the reflected rays and concentrates them at this one point: the air here becomes rarefied, and light dry matter on being subjected to it is soon kindled, since the ray acquires the substance and active force of fire." A perpetual fire of the sort here described was, as Dr. Frazer has shown,³¹⁰ simply a survival of the king's hearth, and as such it was regularly maintained in the *prytaneum* or residence of the king. It is therefore permissible to suppose that the Pelasgian king, who kept a fire constantly burning on his hearth, was the earthly counterpart of the sky-god who kept the sun alight; nay more, that the two stood to each other in the well-known relations of mimetic magic, and that the king, as often as he put fuel on his fire, was virtually making sunshine for the community. If this be so, we can understand why the hearth was so intimately connected with the king on the one hand and with Zeus on the other. Aristotle³¹¹ speaks of "offices which derive their honour from the public hearth: some," he says, "call them *archons*, others kings, others again *prytanes*." So essential indeed was the link between the public hearth and the king, that at Priene a temporary king (*βασιλεύς*) was appointed solely for the purpose of performing the sacrifice at the Panionian festival.³¹² Zeus, too, was closely connected with the

³¹⁰ *Journ. of Philology*, xiv., 145 ff.

³¹¹ Aristot., *pol.* 7. 8. 1322 b, 28 f.

³¹² Strab., 384. Elsewhere he is called a *prytanis*: see *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 415.

public hearth. At Aegae³¹³ in Aeolis, for example, the oak-Zeus was worshipped side by side with Hestia, the personification of the hearth: in the *Odyssey*³¹⁴ an oath is several times taken by Zeus and the hearth of Odysseus: Pindar³¹⁵ addresses an ode to "Hestia, goddess of the *prytanea*, sister of Zeus most high and of Hera who shareth his throne." Some of the titles of Zeus are drawn from the same connection. He is the god "who holds the hearth" (*έστιοῦχος*),³¹⁶ or "who is seated at the hearth" (*έφεστιος*),³¹⁷ or "who shares the hearth with men" (*όμέστιος βροτῶν*).³¹⁸

Secondly, the king represented Zeus as the god of the stormy or rainy sky. As such he could himself cause a thunderstorm or a shower. In a recently recovered ode of Bacchylides³¹⁹ Minos proves that he is the son of Zeus by praying:

Zeus our Father, mighty in strength, hearken. If in truth
the white-armed woman of Phœnicia bare me to thee,
send forth now from the sky the swift
lightning with its fiery curl,
thy token that all men know.

Zeus in answer to "the immoderate prayer" at once hurled the lightning and thereby acknowledged his son. The scene, which is in fact a mythological commonplace, was probably based on the belief that the divine king could evoke a thunderstorm at will. In early days this would

³¹³ *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 78. So at Pergamum (Preller-Robert, p. 867).

³¹⁴ *Od.*, 14. 158 f., 17. 155 f., 19. 303 f., 20. 230 f.

³¹⁵ Pind., *Nem.*, II. I f.

³¹⁶ Eustath., 735, 61, 1756, 26, 1814, 10, cp. Hesych., *έστιαχος* · *οίκουρός* · *οίκωναξ*. καὶ Ζεὺς παρ' Ἰωανν. Eustath., 1575, 39, uses the form *ιστιοῦχος*.

³¹⁷ Eustath., 1756, 27 Ζεὺς ἔφεστιος καὶ ἐπίστιος, 1814, 9 ἔφεστιος, 1930, 28 ἐν τῷ κατ' οἶκον ἑστίᾳ Διὸς ἔγινοντο θυσίαι, διὸν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἔφεστιοι, Ἡρόδοτος δὲ Ἰωνικοῖς λέγει ἐπίστιον, τὸν αὐτὸν δῆτα τῷ ἔστιούχῳ, Hdt., I. 44 ἐπίστιον.

³¹⁸ Soph. *frag.*, 401 Dindorf, *ap.* Steph. Byz., s.v. Δωδώνη: Δωδώνη ναΐων Ζεὺς ὄμέστιος βροτῶν. See *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 183.

³¹⁹ Bacchyl., 17. 52 ff., cp. Hyg., *poet. astron.*, 2. 5.

have been done not by a prayer to Zeus but by mimetic means: nor would the operator have been content to be called the son of Zeus; he would have passed for Zeus himself. The legend of Salmoneus, already related,³²⁰ is from this point of view highly interesting. It introduces us to the paraphernalia of a primitive king, who claimed that he could thunder and lighten *in propria persona*. In his bronze caldrons and blazing torches subsequent ages saw only a grotesque imitation of the tempest. The study of comparative religion would teach us rather to recognise in the din and glare a genuine attempt to raise the storm by the ordinary methods of magic. Almost equally primitive are the means by which the representative of Zeus Λυκαῖος made rain for the Arcadians. Pausanias,³²¹ speaking of the spring Hagno on Mount Lycaeus, says: "If there is a long drought, and the seeds in the earth and the trees are withering, the priest of Lycaeian Zeus looks to the water and prays; and having prayed and offered the sacrifices enjoined by custom, he lets down an oak-branch³²² to the surface of the spring, but not deep into it; and the water being stirred there rises a mist-like vapour, and in a little the vapour becomes a cloud, and gathering other clouds to itself it causes rain to fall on the land of Arcadia." Here the rain-charm is used in conjunction with prayer; but otherwise the ritual might take rank with that of Salmoneus.³²³

Finally, as an embodiment of the earth-god the king was responsible for the fruits of the earth. Lycurgus, king of the Thracian Edoni, is described by Euripides³²⁴ as

³²⁰ *Supra*, p. 300.

³²¹ Paus., 8. 38. 4, Frazer.

³²² On Zeus Λυκαῖος as connected with the oak see *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 87 ff.

³²³ Rain-making in general is discussed by Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² i., 81-115, and rain-making among the Greeks in particular by Gruppe, pp. 818-834.

³²⁴ Eur. *Rhes.* 970 ff. ἀνθρωποδαιμῶν . . . σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός. As the son of one Δρῦας (the "Oak"-man) and the father of another, he appears to have been an oak-king of the usual type: see *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 82.

ἀνθρωποδαίμων, "a man-god," whose fate was to dwell as a prophet "concealed in the caverns" of Mount Pangæus. His tale is variously told, the most instructive version being perhaps that of Apollodorus,³²⁵ who says: "When the land remained barren, the god delivered an oracle that it would be fruitful, if Lycurgus were put to death. Here-upon the Edoni took him to Mount Pangæus and bound him. There he perished according to the will of Dionysus, destroyed by horses." Dr. Frazer,³²⁶ rightly interprets this as an example of a king punished by death because he had failed to supply his people with the crops in their season. Somewhat similar is the opening scene of Sophocles' masterpiece, the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. A blight had fallen upon the land of Thebes, withering the buds, and making the live-stock barren. The common folk repair to the king's palace with the branches and wreaths of suppliants. They are headed by the priest of Zeus, who implores Oedipus to help them. Sophocles is indeed careful to make the priest say: "It is not as deeming thee equal to the gods that I and these children are seated at thy hearth."³²⁷ But that is a concession to later piety. More primitive is the wording of his appeal: "Find for us some succour, whether thou canst hear it from the voice of some god, or haply knowest it as a man."³²⁸ Plutarch's³²⁹ account of the Delphic ceremony called *Charila*, is worth quoting in this connexion: "A famine once fell upon the Delphians in consequence of a drought; so they crowded to the doors of their king as suppliants along with their wives and children. He, since he had not enough for all, distributed barley and vegetables to those of them who were known to him. But, when a young orphan girl came and besought him,

³²⁵ Apollod., 3. 5. 1.

³²⁶ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² i., 158 f.

³²⁷ Soph., *Oed. Tyr.*, 31 f.

³²⁸ *Ib.*, 42 f.

³²⁹ Plut. *quest. Gr.*, 12.

he beat her with his sandal and flung it in her face. She, being poor and helpless but not ignoble in character, went away and hanged herself with her own girdle. Hereupon the famine increased and was followed up by diverse diseases, till the Pythian priestess bade the king propitiate Charila, a virgin who had put herself to death. Having with some difficulty discovered that this was the name of the girl whom he had beaten, he paid her an expiatory sacrifice, which is kept up at intervals of eight years to the present day. The king sits on his throne distributing gifts of barley and vegetables to all, strangers and citizens alike. A childish figure of Charila is brought in; and, when all have taken it in their hands, the king beats it with his sandal. The chief of the Thyiades next raises it and bears it to a rocky glen. Here they fasten a cord round the neck of the figure and bury it on the spot where Charila, who hanged herself, was buried." Without discussing the details of this curious rite, I would point out that it clearly involves the king's obligation to supply his people with food—an obligation probably based on the belief that the king was the embodiment of the god: Apollo at Delphi was Σιτάλκας, "He who protects the crops."³³⁰ It was but natural that a man-god possessed of such chthonian power should, when life was ended, be regarded as a king over the dead. A magnificent Tarentine vase, found at Canosa and preserved in the Munich collection, shows among other denizens of the underworld Triptolemus of Eleusis enthroned between Aeacus and Rhadamanthys: from his head rise ears of wheat, an obvious symbol of his function as grain-giver to men.³³¹ More often we hear of Minos as judge of the dead.³³² But of these four royal

³³⁰ Paus., 10. 15. 2. On the meaning of the epithet see Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, i., 484, and Steph., *Thesaurus*, s.v. Σιτάλκας.

³³¹ A. Furtwängler u. K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, p. 48, pl. 10.

³³² Roscher, *Lex.*, ii., 2996 f.

personages three at least stood in some relation to the cult of an oak-Zeus.³³³ Perhaps, therefore, all Pelasgian kings had a claim to that posthumous distinction.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(*To be continued.*)

³³³ For Triptolemus see *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 84; for Aeacus *ib.*, xvii., 405; for Minos *ib.*, xvii., 404, ff.

COLLECTANEA.

SPECIMENS OF SOMALI TALES.

(Collected by J. W. C. Kirk, Lieut. VI. King's African Rifles.)

THE following stories are offered to the student of folklore for what they are worth. He will perhaps be able to determine how far they are the genuine native product, and how far they are borrowed from Arabic or other sources. As a matter of fact the narrators were quite unacquainted with Arabic, with the exception of the Mullah of Burao, who told me the story No. XI. They were all collected from men of the Ishhak tribes from the Burao district, and I have in each case stated under the title the name of the individual narrator with his tribe and subtribe. Nos. I.-V. may be classified as romantic fiction, VI.-VIII. as gnomic or proverbial in their purport, and IX.-X. as beast fables. No. XI. looks like a variant of the story of the sons of Judah, and may, I dare say, have been derived by my priestly informant from Mohammedan literature.

I may add that all these tales were told me in the native language, and that I have in my possession copies of the Somali originals (except XI.), which I hope to publish shortly. There are no signs of the stories having been handed down word for word, their phraseology being that of the spoken language of the day, whereas Somali songs are full of obsolete forms and expressions, often unintelligible to the average Somali.

Dr. A. W. Schleicher's *Somali Texte*, by Reinisch (Wien, 1900), contains an excellent collection of Somali tales.

I.

Habiyo Butiya (Lame Habiyo).

(Mohammed Jibril, Habr Toljaala, Musa Abokr, clerk, aged about 26.)

There once was a Sultan who had a son, whose mother was dead. But the Sultan married another wife, and went on a

pilgrimage. Now a certain Jew was a friend of the Sultan's wife, but the Sultan's son and the Jew were enemies. The Jew said to the woman, "Let us kill the boy." So she mixed some poison in his food. But the boy had a mare, who knew everything, and the mare said to the boy, "Don't eat the food"; and when the food was put before him, the boy refused it. The next day the Jew came to the Sultan's wife and said, "When the Sultan comes back, say you are sick, and when he asks what will cure you, tell him the liver of the mare." The next day the Sultan came. Then she laid the skin on the bed and placed under it some fig-leaves, and when she lay down the leaves crackled. Then the Sultan said, "What is the matter with you?" and she said, "I have a pain in my ribs." "What will cure you?" he said; and she answered, "The liver of your son's mare." The Sultan called the boy and said, "I intend to kill your mare for your stepmother." And the boy said, "Very well, but let me take a ride on her this evening." In the evening the boy rode the mare, and said to his father, "Good-bye, Father," and departed with the mare. He went to a town, and near the town he saw six girls washing at a well. The youngest of the girls saw him, and when she saw the man, she ran away from the well, being ashamed in front of the man. Then he singed the tail of the mare, who went up into the sky. The young man then pretended to be a cripple, and went into the town, and there became a servant.

Later on the daughters of the Sultan said, "We wish to marry." The Sultan beat his drum, and announced, "My daughters wish to marry." Then the rich young men came together, and the girls were brought, and the people stood in the plain. Then the girls were asked, "Are the men you want all here?" And the young girl said, "The man I wanted is not here." The slave girls who were summoning the men were told to call all the men in the town, so they called the young cripple, Lame Habiyo. Then the Sultan asked the girls, "Are the men all here?" And they said, "Yes." The girls were given six oranges, and they were told, "Let each girl hit the man she wants." The five other girls hit five rich young men; the young girl hit Lame Habiyo. Then her father and mother were so struck with horror that they lost their sight, and the young man married the girl. On the next day they were told, "That which will cure the Sultan and his wife is rhinoceros' milk." And the young

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men who married the five girls were given five good horses, and Lame Habiyo was given a donkey, and they left the town. There came to Lame Habiyo the mare, whose tail he had burned, and he put on his gold dress and sword, and mounted the mare. The mare flew up and reached the sky. Then he went to a place where rhinoceroses are born. A young rhinoceros he cut open, and opened out the skin, and made a figure from it. In the afternoon the mother rhinoceros came, and Lame Habiyo pretended to be the young one. The first portion of milk he milked into one skin, and the second portion he milked into another skin. Then the rhinoceros went to graze. Then the young man threw away the figure, and took the milk. He went to a tree and tied his mare to it. While he slept under the tree the five young men who married the other girls came to him and said, "Salam Alekum." And Lame Habiyo said, "Alekum Salam." Then he said, "Where are you going?" And they said, "We are looking for rhinoceros' milk." Then he said, "I have some rhinoceros' milk. What will you give for it?" And they said, "Whatever you wish." Then he said, "Wealth do I not want, but I will brand my name on the hinder parts of each of you." Then they said, "Agreed." So he branded his name on the hinder parts of all five. Then he gave them the first milk, and the second milk Lame Habiyo took for himself. They went to the town where the Sultan lived, and took the milk. The five young men carried the milk, and it was poured on the eyes of the Sultan, but was of no use. Another day Lame Habiyo gave his milk to his wife and said, "Let not your father and mother see you when you pour it in." Then she took the milk and she poured it in. And the eyes of the Sultan and her mother were opened. Then the girl came running away and came to her house. Then the Sultan learned that Lame Habiyo had opened his eyes, and the Sultan called the other young men that married his daughters, and he said, "To the young man Lame Habiyo who married my young daughter have I given authority over my town, and you, be his servants." Then Lame Habiyo said, "O, Sultan, 'twas I who did bring you the rhinoceros' milk, and my name is on the five young men's hinder parts." And they looked, and the name of Lame Habiyo was found. Afterwards Lame Habiyo became Sultan.

II.

Perseus and Andromeda.

(Mohammed Jibril.)

There were a brother and sister who kept a cow. They dwelt in a deserted place, and the brother used to go with the cow, while the sister used to sit in the house, and at night they met in the zariba. The sister was of great beauty, and men asked for her, but her brother refused to let the girl be married. One day some men came into the house for the girl, and they conversed; and the brother came in in the evening and found that men had come for his sister, but he said nothing. The next day the men returned to the girl and said, "We think of killing your brother. When is he engaged?" And the girl said, "When he is milking the cow." In the evening they came as he was milking the cow, and jumped in over the fence, and when he saw the enemy he drew his sword. His sister seized his hair; but he cut it off, and jumped over the fence, which cut off his genitals, and he escaped. He went to a town where there was a girl tied to a tree, and he said, "Who are you, girl?" and she said, "My father is the Sultan of the town." And he said, "Why are you tied up here?" and she said, "I am tied up for a dragon which will come and eat me." Then he said, "When does it come?" and she said, "In the evening." And he said, "When the dragon comes, what will it do?" and she said, "First it will drink the water, and afterwards eat me," and he replied, "Very well." Then the dragon came and went down to the water, but the young man drew his sword and struck it on the head and it died. Then he led away the girl and brought her to the town, and the people of the town came running to him as he led the girl, and they said, "What is this?" and he said, "I have killed the dragon."

Then he was brought to the Sultan, and they said, "This man has killed the dragon." And the Sultan bade him marry his daughter. So thereupon the man married her.

III.

The Girl without legs.

(Mohammed Jibril.)

A Sultan had a daughter, and the daughter used to be taught

the Koran. One day the Sultan went on a pilgrimage, and entrusted his daughter to a priest and said, "Continue to teach that girl the Koran." The priest coveted the girl, wishing to lie with her, but the girl refused. One day she said, "Come to me to-morrow." On the day arranged she removed from the house the ladder by which the priest used to ascend. He then sent a letter to her father, and he wrote, "Your daughter has become a whore." The Sultan returned from the pilgrimage, and he was angry with the girl, and he handed her over to some slaves, and he said, "Cut that girl's throat." Then the slaves took the girl, and brought her to a wooded place, and they cut off her legs while they dug her grave. While they were digging the grave she crawled away, and went into some trees and hid. When the slaves had dug the grave, they looked in the place where she had lain and could not find her. Then they slew a gazelle, and the gazelle's blood they poured into a bottle, and brought the blood to the Sultan and said, "We have slain the girl." One day later a caravan passed by the place and camped where the girl lay. In the afternoon as the party were loading up the camels, they saw the girl sitting under a tree. A man took the girl, and put her on a camel, and brought her to the town they came to. The man who took the girl put her to live in a house. Later on the son of the Sultan saw the girl's face, and the young man saw that her face was beautiful, and he said to the man whose house she dwelt in, "Let me marry that girl from you." And the man said, "The girl has no legs." Then the Sultan's son said, "I will marry her, give her to me." And so the man said, "Well and good." And the Sultan's son married her. She bore two children, and while she was with child the young man said, "I am going on a pilgrimage." And he left her a ram, and went on the pilgrimage. While he was away on the pilgrimage his wife had a dream, and she dreamed that two birds sat upon her two legs, and her legs had grown out, and that she made the pilgrimage. In the morning at break of day she saw the two birds sitting upon her two legs, and the legs had grown out. After daylight she took her two children and the ram and the two birds and went on the pilgrimage. She came to a building at the half way, and there came to her her father and her brother and the priest and her husband, none of whom knew her. She told stories to her children, and she related all that had happened to her, and her father heard and the priest.

Then the priest tried to run away, but the Sultan said, "Sit down until the story is finished." Then the Sultan, the girl's father, cut the priest's throat, and the girl and her father and husband they went on together and made the pilgrimage. And so the girl and her father were reconciled.

IV.

The Sultan's Wife.

(Mohammed Jibril.)

There was a Sultan who had a son, and his son said, "I want to marry," So the Sultan gave him many presents, and also a ship. The Sultan's son set sail and came to a town, and when he arrived at the town he became friends with a Sultan, and the Sultan gave him a house. The young man made a hole between the house he was in and the Sultan's house, and he became friends with the Sultan's wife. One day the young man said to the Sultan's wife, "Make some food for me just as you are accustomed to make it for your husband." And he went to the Sultan, and said, "To-night will you take food with me?" And the Sultan said, "Well and good." And the young man said to the Sultan's wife, "To-night when I and the Sultan are having our food, I want you to serve us with the food." And the woman said, "The Sultan will know me." Then he said, "He will not know you, I will say you are my wife." And she said, "If he does not know me, I will go with you and be your wife." At night the Sultan came home and dressed himself, and came to the young man's house. And his wife passed through the hole in the house, and came to the young man's house. Then she served the food to the Sultan and the young man. The Sultan recognised his wife, and got off his chair, and went to his house. Before he reached his house, the woman passed through the hole and sat upon her bed, and the Sultan saw her. When he saw her he straightway came back to the house of the young man, while the woman came through the hole, and still he saw her. The young man, who was dining with him, said to the Sultan, "Did you think this woman who is serving our food was your wife? The woman is my wife," he said, and the Sultan sat down. The next morning the young man said, "I am sailing." "Very good," he answered. And the young man arranged with

the Sultan's wife, and said, "In the morning come through that place, I am sailing." So the woman came through and came to the young man, and he took her to the ship, and sailed. And the young man having run away with the Sultan's wife married her.

V.

(Ismail, Habr Toljaala, Ahmed Farah, professional poet, aged about 24.)

There is a story that a man was riding a horse, and there came to him an old woman, who said, "Where are you going?" And he said, "I am going to that town." And she said, "In that town people are slain and eaten; do not go in lest they slay you." And he answered, "Still I am going in." Then she said, "The town has a Sultan, and the Sultan has a daughter, and the daughter's sash is a snake, and the snake eats the people. And there is a camel who eats the people; he sits in front of the house, over there upon a bed." And she said, "See, my man, if you are going to the house, run and enter the house of the Sultan's daughter." And he said, "The man told me the dog eats the people, and the camel eats the people, and the snake eats the people. How am I going to pass them?" And the woman said, "Take this grass, and let not the camel eat you, but when you pass the house you are going to, put the grass in at the door, lest it eat you. And for the dog, take this piece of meat, and put it near the dog, and let him eat it and not you. And for the snake, which is tied round the girl's waist, take this stick, and place it on the snake's head, and then the snake will die. After you have done this, enter the house and go to the girl, and then marry her." So he married the girl.

VI.

Misfortunes never come singly.

(Ismail.)

There is a story that a man once loaded his water-camels and took them to the well, and went to draw water. When he went to draw water he tied his camels together. When he was in the nullah he left six camels behind, while he led the other six. When

he was some distance off, the six camels that were left behind were not to be seen. So he ran back, and came up to find six lions eating the six camels. Then he left them, and returned to the other six camels, and found six other lions eating these. Then he took a waterskin from the camels, and came to his home, to find his family looted by an enemy.

VII.

How to choose a wife.

(Ismail.)

A man had a son, and the son said to his father, "Father, I want to marry a wife." Then his father said, "Do you take a widow." So he took a widow, and his father said, "Marry her." So he married her. Then his father said, "Tie her with a rope, and when she speaks to you, untie the rope." So he tied her with a rope, and the woman said, "This is not what I have been accustomed to see. What are you doing with me?" Thereupon he untied the rope. In the morning his father came and said, "What did she say?" And he answered, "She said to me, 'This is not what I have been accustomed to see. Why are you doing that to me?'" Then his father said, "Send her away." That was one.

The father said to his son, "Take another wife, take a grown girl." Then he said, "To-night tie her with a rope, and when she speaks to you, untie it." So he tied her, and she said, "This is not what I have been accustomed to hear. Why are you tying me with that?" So he untied her. In the morning he came to his father and he said, "She said, 'This is not what I have been accustomed to hear. What are you doing to me with the rope?'" Then his father said, "Send her away too." And that was another.

Then his father said, "Do you go and take a nice young girl." So he took one, and he said, "To-night tie her with a rope, and when she speaks to you, untie it." So the young man did so and went to sleep, and was asleep all night. In the early morning the girl woke him up, and said, "The rope with which you tied me has fallen off and is not tied to me, tie it upon me." And in the morning he told his father. "Father, she said, 'The rope

has fallen off and is not tied to me, tie it upon me?" Then his father said, "Keep that one, she is the right one." So she was the one he afterwards married.

VIII.

The Blind Man.

(Ali Sumattar, Habr Yunis, Musa Arreh, officers' cook, aged about 40.)

In a certain place many men were talking, and there were two men, one of whom was blind and the other was not blind. The man with sight said, "Why do you talk with a blind man? He can see nothing." And the blind man said, "How do you know a blind man?" The other one said, "We know a blind man, he is a man who sees nothing." Then the blind man said, "He that is blind is the man who knows nothing, he is blind."

IX.

(Ismail.)

It is said that the Hyæna owned flocks and Man had none. One day Man was looking after the Hyæna's flocks, and the Hyæna went to the council. After this Man thought, and he said, "Let us steal the Hyæna's flocks while he is away at the council." So Man put the flocks in a zareba; and night came, and when it was night they were driven off. The Hyæna howled, and went to the other animals, and he said, "See, I have been looted." Then they said, "Let us attack." They came along, and arrived at a pool of water, and the male Dikdik said, "If you do not let me come to the pool you shall not drink." "Sir, we will drink; leave us," they said. Then he scratched sand into it until the water was gone; and they died of thirst when they found no water.

X.

(Ismail.)

It is said that a Camel possessed altogether a Snake, a Zareba, a Fire, a Flood, and a Lion, and Deceit, and Honesty. Those seven the Camel owned. One day Deceit said, "We might steal

the Lion from that big Camel ; let us kill the Lion." The others said, "How are we to kill him?" Then she said, "Let the Snake bite the Lion, and when you have bitten him go into the Zareba." So he bit him and went into the Zareba. Then she said, "O Fire, burn up both the Zareba and Snake." So the Fire burned both Zareba and Snake. Then she said, "The Fire has killed the Snake and the Fence, let the Flood too put out the Fire." After this Honesty said, "The Flood does not travel on the mountain, but only in the nullah ; let us travel on the mountain with the Camel." So they travelled on the mountain, and then Deceit said, "Let us slay the Camel." So they slew her, and cooked the steak, and gulped down the steak, and except the steak nothing else of the Camel did they eat. And the meat stuck in their throats, for it was a big piece, and could not pass through their mouths. So they died.

XI.

Gerhajis and Arab.

(Haji Ali Mohammed, Habr Yunis, Abdallah Ismail, priest, aged about 50.)

Gerhajis and Arab were the twin sons of Sheikh Ishhak (the ancestor of one of the two great divisions of the Somalis) by his wife Magado. Before birth one child put out his hand, and the mother wishing to mark him wanted to put a ring on his finger, but, no ring being available, tied on a piece of thread round the little finger. Then the hand was withdrawn. Subsequently one boy was born, but no thread was found on his finger ; this child was called Arab. Later, the other was born, having the ring of thread, and called Gerhajis.

When they were grown up, there was a dispute as to which was the elder. For the elder son, besides becoming head man, must always be married before the younger is allowed to do so. But it was decided that the one that put his hand out, namely Gerhajis, was the first born

J. W. C. KIRK.

NOTE.—These Somali tales are interesting. Several of them, however, are defective, which perhaps may be accounted for by

the fact that they were told by men. Women are notoriously the best tellers of *Märchen*; and a woman would have been more likely to remember and reproduce the details. In the first story, for instance, the omissions are numerous. The singeing of the mare's tail is an incident I do not remember reading before; but why did Habiyo adopt this method of causing the magical beast to disappear? There must have been, as in other versions there is, a conversation with her. Probably she herself originally informed the hero of his stepmother's plot, and concerted with him the measures he was to take. Again, why did the sultan's youngest daughter choose the cripple for a husband? We know from other versions that she had previously seen him and penetrated his disguise. But the incident, a necessary link in the story, is wanting here.

The curious incident in the second story of the hero's mutilation is paralleled in the ancient Egyptian Tale of the Two Brothers. It is also worthy of note that in the Japanese variant of the Perseus and Andromeda legend the dragon drinks before attacking his prey. (See Campbell, *My Circular Notes*, vol. i., p. 326; Aston, *Nihongi*, vol. i., p. 52.) The fourth story depends on the incident of the hero's digging a tunnel from his residence to the heroine's apartments in her husband's house. It is obvious that this incident can hardly be natural among the Somalis. In fact, the story is well known in the Mediterranean area, and has doubtless been brought, like several of the others, by Arabs to Somalia. The modern phraseology of the originals, referred to by Lieutenant Kirk, strengthens the probability of importation.

E. S. HARTLAND.

NOTES FROM THE UPPER CONGO, III.

(Vol. xii., pp. 181, 458.)

I PURPOSE now to give you two of the legends told here about Libanza, the nearest equivalent we can get to God. It will be interesting to note, before passing on to the legends, some of the notions the natives have respecting God. Their ideas are very nebulous. To them apparently the Godhead consists of four

persons, all seemingly equal, and each supreme in his own peculiar department. Their names and functions are as follows :—

1. *Libanza*.—The Creator, the strong, all-powerful one.
2. *Nzakomba*.—The Disposer of the hearts and thoughts of men. This deity is responsible for the good and bad thoughts in man ; for his kindly or evil disposition ; for his morality or lack of it.
3. *Njambe*.—The Destroyer. Death, sickness, evils of all kinds emanate from this deity. Nzambi of the Lower Congo ; Nyambe of the Bobangi people, and other forms in cognate languages. The definition of this name varies according to locality. N.B.—Lower Congo, *ambi*=bad ; Bobangi, *bi*=bad ; Monsembe, *bi*=bad ; and so on. Is this the root of Nzambi, &c.? I think it is very probable.
4. *Kumba*.—Crooked sticks, deformed and semi-sane people, and all malformations in nature are placed to the credit of this deity. N.B.—*umba*, v.t. to bend, to clinch, clench, curve, &c. This is probably the root of *Kumba*.

The Birth of Libanza.

Yondoka (a mythical creature) having brought into subjection all the animals, was at last conquered and slain by another Yondoko, who took his wife. They slept together, and the following morning when the wife went out to sweep the space before the house she saw a parrot that dropped a fruit called *munsansabu*,¹ which she picked up, roasted, and ate. She said to her husband, "Fetch me some *minsansabu*." He struck his fetish horn in the ground, and told his wife that if blood came out of it she would know he was dead. He then took five satchels, and walking very far arrived at the fruit tree. A boy was sitting at the base of the tree. The man ascended, saying, "I am going to pluck *minsansabu*." The boy said, "Pull me that one." The man asked, "This one?" "No," said the boy, "not that one, but that there." Man said, "This?" "No, that," said the boy ; until at last the man becoming angry plucked one, threw it at the boy and hit him on a sore. The boy cried and threatened him.

¹ *Munsansabu*, plural *minsansabu*. A fruit much liked by the natives. In shape like a date. It grows on a beautiful tree.

The man filled his satchels, went back to the town and gave them to his wife, who took them, and while roasting them sang a song.

The man went again and again to fetch *minsansabu*. The boy saw him, and told his father Nyandembe that a person was plucking his fruit. He called all his people, and they surrounded the tree with hunting-nets, in which they caught Yondoko and killed him. His wife, looking at the horn, saw it fill with blood, and knew her husband was dead.

The wife was pregnant, and when her time came she gave birth first to *Mpingangi* (small troublesome flies), then to *Bituna* (blood-sucking flies), then to *Njoi* (bees), then to *Bilolombi* (another species of blood-sucking flies), then to *Nkungi* (mosquitoes), then to *Nkute* (a troublesome night-fly), then to an animal, then to a tortoise, then to Nsongo, his sister, but Libanza was left. The mother said, "Libanza, come out." He said, "How shall I come out? Scrape your finger nails." She scraped her finger nails and said, "Come out." He threw out first a chair covered with brass nails, then a shield of iron, then his spears, and at last he himself came out.

He asked his mother where his father was; she deceived him by saying, "When I was pregnant with you I desired the edible heart of a palm-tree, and as he went to get it he was drowned by the waves." Libanza sent the tortoise in a canoe, and then made great waves, but the tortoise crossed the river without sinking, so the father was not drowned.

Libanza asked again, "Where did father die?" She said, "I desired some large palm-maggots, and the palm-tree fell on him, and he died." Libanza said to the tortoise, "Go and fell a palm-tree." The tortoise went, and when the palm was falling he stretched his body on the ground, and let the palm-tree fall on him, but the tortoise was not killed. He returned and told Libanza; so the father was not killed that way.

Libanza asked again, "Tell me the place where father died." She said, "I will not hide it from you. I desired some *minsansabu* belonging to Nyandembe, and your father died at the fruit-tree." Libanza sent the tortoise to the tree. The tortoise went and climbed up the tree, and falling on the ground, was broken into many pieces and died. The tortoise joined himself together and returned to Libanza, and told him it was true his father had

died there. Libanza thereupon sent the various swarms of flies, mosquitoes, &c., to fight against Nyandembe; but they were all conquered by Nyandembe, and became his slaves. Libanza then took his shield and spears, fought against Nyandembe, conquered him, got back his slaves, and made Nyandembe also his slave. Libanza returned to his town and sent the flies, &c., about their business.

The Adventures of Libanza.

Three persons went hunting, one of them turned aside and saw a boy, covered with yaws, sitting with his two sisters. The hunter said, "I have found some slaves," and the youngsters said, "We have found a master." The hunter conducted them to the camp, and by-and-by he made a clearing for snaring monkeys. The boy said, "Master, give me the traps and I will snare some monkeys." "You are a little one, can you catch monkeys?" asked the master. He said, "Let me have them." He took the traps and snared thirty monkeys, whereupon they returned to camp to share out the meat. That boy was Libanza. When they had divided the meat Libanza was feared, and they all sat very quietly. Libanza took his share of the meat and went away. Arriving after a time at a large town he changed himself into a boy with yaws. The people there were pounding sugar-canies to make wine. One of them walking to the back of a house, came upon the boy and his sisters, and with surprise exclaimed, "I have found some slaves." His friends said, "Bring them here." So he took them and sat them down on the mortar, and gave them sugar-cane to eat. After a time the boy said, "Give me a pestle, and I will pound the canes." "You are only a small boy, and do you attempt to pound the canes?" they asked. He took a pestle, and singing, pounded away, and the pestle snapped; he took two pestles, one in each hand, and they broke with the force of the pounding, and thus he broke all the pestles until only one was left. He took that one, and they fearing him, he went off for good with it.

He and his sisters walked a long way, and came upon a man sitting. One of the sisters said, "I will take him, and him only, for my husband." His name was Koloimoko. As the girl was going out to the place where the man was sitting, Libanza entered into a horn. When Koloimoko came he said "As I was at first

that horn would come to me that I might drink out of it." And the horn said, "Did it walk thus?" Koloimoko exclaimed, "Oh! oh!" Libanza followed, crying, "Koloimoko, stumble, stumble, catch me, Koloimoko."

Koloimoko had a friend called Bianga-biangango. While he was gone to fetch him, Libanza covered himself with a saucepan. When they returned they sat at a distance, and Koloimoko said, "As I was at first that saucepan would come here." The saucepan said, "I am coming." They ran away swiftly, exclaiming, "Oh, oh!" Libanza followed, crying, "Koloimoko, stumble, stumble, catch me, Koloimoko." His friend called to the Bianga-biangango. Libanza shouted, "Bianga-biangango, catch me, kill me." By-and-by Libanza came upon a shed used for making canoes. He turned himself into the handle of an axe. When the men came to work on the canoes, as Koloimoko was about to pick up an axe, Libanza caught him and took him to his sister. Koloimoko had only one leg with stumpy toes. Libanza's sister said, "The man is very ugly; how can I go with him?" So Libanza let him go.

As they continued their journey, they saw a bunch of ripe palm-nuts. The sister picked up some fallen ones, and eating them found them good, whereupon she said, "Libanza, cut that bunch of palm-nuts for me." He ascended the palm-tree, and as he ascended, the palm-tree grew up, and up, and up, until the top reached the heaven. Libanza alighted in heaven, and his sister Nsongo was left on the earth.

Nsongo on being left behind cried for her brother Libanza. She heard the roll of thunder and said, "Ah! that is Libanza." She called a wizard named Muntwontwa. He came and said, "Your brother is in heaven. Did you hear the thunder roll? That was the roar of your brother Libanza." Nsongo said, "I want to go there." Muntwontwa said, "You call the hawk, he goes up there, and tell him you want to send a parcel to Libanza, then tie yourself up into a parcel and place yourself on the ridge of a house; the hawk will see it and say, 'There is the parcel truly,' then he will take you up immediately."

When Nsongo saw the hawk, she said, "Hawk, if you are going up there, swoop down, I want to send a parcel." When the hawk had passed, Nsongo took some leaves, tied herself up, and put herself on the top of the house ridge. When the hawk returned

he took the parcel and alighted on the top of a tree; he tried to undo it, but heard a sigh come from the parcel, he flew off to another place, and attempted again to loosen the parcel, but again he heard the sigh. The hawk then flew to the place where Libanza was, and alighting, said, "Behold your parcel which your sister has sent you." When he essayed to undo it his sister came out.

Libanza was blacksmithing. There was a person there named Ngombe, he swallowed people every day, so he was called Ngombe the swallower. When Libanza heard that he swallowed people he melted an ingot of iron. The tortoise worked the bellows. Ngombe cried, "Kililili"; Libanza shouted, "Alalalala"; Ngombe said, "Who is that mimicking me?" Ngombe again cried, "Kililili"; Libanza shouted, "Ngalalala, I am Anjaka-njaka Lokwala lotungi, Libanza, the brother of Nsongo." Ngombe the swallower came with his mouth wide-stretched to swallow him. Libanza melted the ingot, the tortoise worked the bellows swiftly. Ngombe came with his lower jaw dragging along the ground that he might swallow him, and Libanza threw the molten metal right into his mouth, and Ngombe fell fatally injured.

Only two or three remarks are all that I think are needed.

1. Pestles for pounding sugar-cane weigh from 25 pounds to 30 pounds.
2. *Biang-a-bianganga*, a mythical monster of the forest.
3. *Muntvontzwa*, a bird (a variety of the shrike) used in most native stories as a wizard of much wisdom and resource.
4. *Anjaka-njaka Lokwala lotungi, Libanza the brother of Nsongo*. This is Libanza's full name—The exceedingly strong who can lift anything with his finger-nail, Libanza the brother of Nsongo.

JOHN H. WEEKS.

Monsembe Station, B.M.S., Haut Congo.

État Indépendant du Congo.

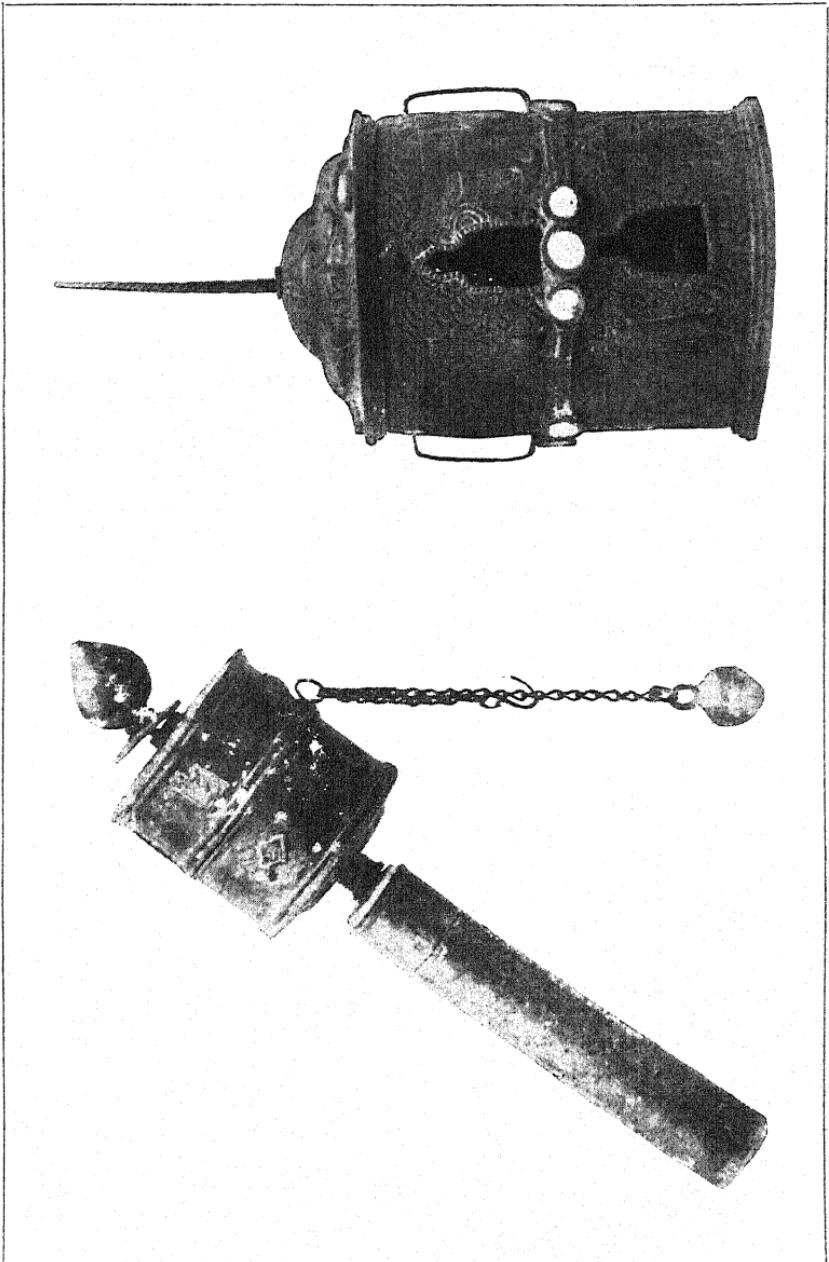
Feb. 17, 1904.

TIBETAN PRAYER-WHEELS.

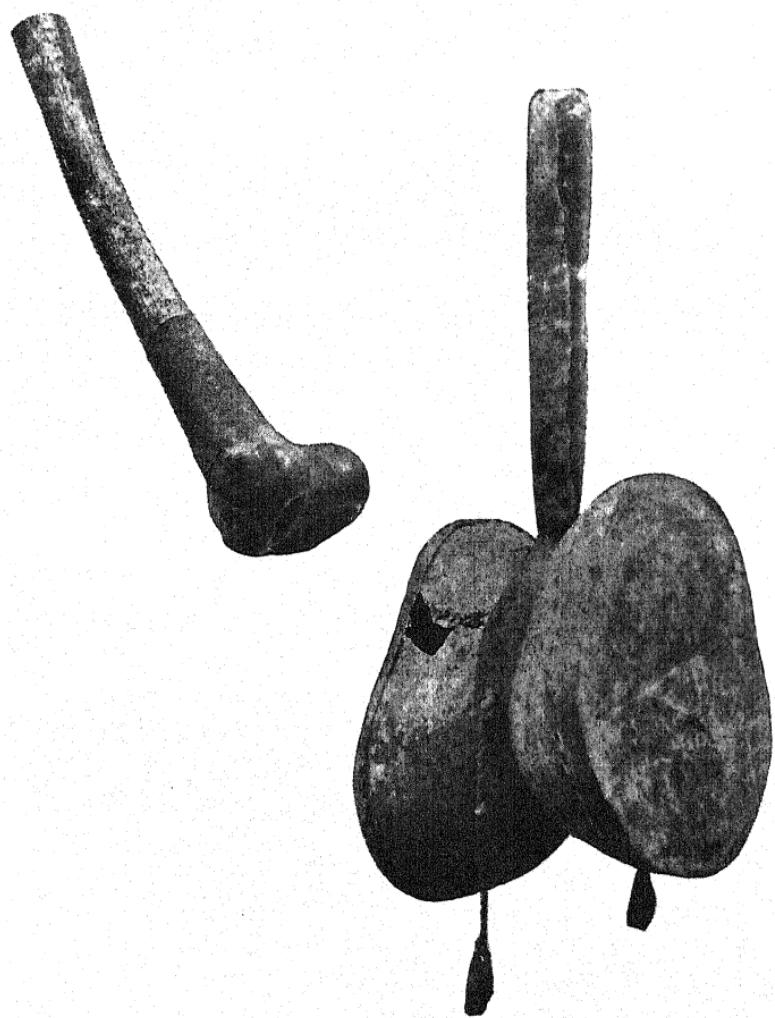
(*Exhibited at Meeting of Society. See Plate VI. and p. 243.*)

THE table prayer-wheel shown to the right of Plate VI. has an outer cylinder of copper six inches high and ornamented with bosses containing turquoisees. In both the upper and lower panels formed by the central rib is embossed in ancient Indian *ranja* characters (of the seventh century), the well-known mystical formula, *Om! mani pädme hm!* (*Om!* the jewel in the Lotus! *Hm!*) The side handles may be intended to suspend the wheel or to facilitate carriage. On removing the dome-shaped lid, an inner brass cylinder (seen through the apertures of the outer cylinder in the Plate) is found, through which passes an axle resting in a footstep in the bottom of the outer cylinder and ending, above the outer lid as shown, in a tapering screwed part which can be easily twirled by the fingers. On removing the lid of the inner cylinder, a tightly packed mass of scrolls is visible, which is rotated when the axle is twirled. Seeing a prayer is thought to be as good as saying it, and passing it before one as good as seeing it (even if it is out of sight in a revolving prayer-wheel). The prayer scrolls are usually covered with numberless repetitions of the sacred formula already mentioned, which is expected to free the user from the pains and discomforts of a rebirth after the present life, and to end the illusion of existence. (See Waddell's *The Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 148-9, where an illustration of a formula is given.) Almost invariably the scrolls contain only repetitions of a single prayer to a single deity, but in the example shown the scrolls are filled with invocations to four deities, the white, black, yellow, and green gods, who control the powers of evil at the four cardinal points. Each prayer opens with the proper invocations or *mantras* for these gods, viz. *Om! mani pädme hm!* (for Chä-rä-si (Avalokita) the white); *Om! Vajrapäni hm phät!* (for Chä-na-dorje (Vajrapäni) the black); *Om! a-ra-pa-ca-na-dhi!* (for Jam-yang (Mañjughosha) the yellow); and *Om! Tä-re tut-tä-re ture svä-hä!* (for Döl-ma jan-k'u (Tärä) the green). The prayer itself, translated, runs, "The yellow god, the white god, the black god, the green god, please kindly to take us all up with you, and do not leave us unprotected, but destroy our enemies. Ye gods, who can do

PLATE VI.



TIBETAN PRAYER-WHEELS.



TIBETAN DRUM AND TRUMPET.

everything for us, and who are the owners of our souls and lives, keep us safe with you."

The *mantra* or formula appropriate to the contained prayers must be repeated before a wheel is turned, and also at the end of the rotation, or else no merit will be gained. The *mantra* should also be repeated as often as possible while the turning is going on, and the faster the turning the greater the merit. It is also necessary that the wheel shall be turned only in the direction in which a person would go keeping his right side always to the axle. To turn in the reverse direction is to undo all that has been previously done by a right turning.

The smaller prayer-wheel, mounted on a long wooden handle and seen to the left of the Plate, is for hand use, and is kept in motion with very little effort by the help of the chain and weight. A hook and chain are also provided for the suspension of the wheel, which contains the usual formula, and has embossed on it the "eight glorious emblems" found in Buddha's footprints, viz. the golden fish, umbrella, conch-shell trumpet of victory, lucky diagram, victorious banner, vase, lotus, and wheel.

A. R. WRIGHT.

TIBETAN DRUM AND TRUMPET.

(*Exhibited at Meeting of Society. See Plate VII. and p. 243.*)

THE object to the right of Plate VII. is a drum made of the caps of two human skulls secured together at their apices, and with their bases covered by human skin. The drum is beaten by jerking it from one side to the other by the supporting band, so that the two hanging leather bobs strike the skin coverings.

The other object shown is a *kan-lin*, or trumpet made of a human thigh-bone, the lower part of which is covered with human skin. Such a trumpet "is sometimes encased in brass, with a wide copper flanged extremity, on which are figured the three eyes and nose of a demon, the oval open extremity being the demon's mouth. In the preparation of these thigh-bone trumpets the bones of criminals or those who have died by violence are preferred, and an elaborate incantation is done, part of which consists in the Lâma eating a portion of the skin of the bone; otherwise its blast would not be sufficiently powerful to summon

the demons." (Waddell's *The Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 300.) A trumpet of this kind is blown at the beginning of a mystery play. A Lāma with a thigh-bone trumpet also walks before a corpse on its way to burial or cremation, holding the end of a white band secured to the corpse, and by the use of his trumpet attracts the soul and guides it in the right direction.

Both the objects illustrated are placed upon temple altars. Cannibalism is stated by the Tibetans themselves to have been their ancient custom, and is alleged still to linger in very remote districts. The use of the implements described may be a vestige of the practice.

A. R. WRIGHT.

THE SHWE-HMU, OR BURMESE TAX-GATHERER.

(Communicated through Mr. J. G. Frazer.)

WHEN I was stationed at *Banmauk* in the *Katha* district of Upper Burma in 1900, I heard of the following custom, which was practised previous to the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, and perhaps up to the time of the *Wuntho* expedition, which resulted in the annexation of the *Wuntho* state about 1892. The people who practised it are a race of mixed origin known as the *Ganans* or *Ganan-kadus*. They inhabit the valley in which the *Mu* rises (a tributary of the *Irrawaddy*), about twenty-five miles in length and perhaps eight in breadth, about midway between the *Chindwin* and the *Irrawaddy* rivers, between 24° and 25° lat. and 95° - 96° long. Their chief villages (marked on a large-scale map) are *Haavyaw* and *Shwegyaung*. Before the annexation these people were governed by their own *Shwe-hmu* (*lit.* gold (*tad*) payer), or head-man. They were subject to the king of Burma and an officer of his who lived some sixty miles (by road) to the south-east, and interfered with *Ganan* little if at all.

A *Shwe-hmu*'s main official duty would be to collect the lump sum assessed on his district as taxation, and pay it in to the king's officer. He would act in a rough sort of way as judge or magistrate in his circle, and would practically settle all disputes and punish malefactors in an out-of-the-way place like *Ganan*. I am not clear whether there were two *Shwe-hmus* or only one. The *Ganan-Kadus* are said to be divided into the *Ganan-mas* and the

Ganan-pwas (I am not quite certain about these names), and *Ganan-mas* were not, I was told, allowed to take part in a *Ganan-pwa* struggle, or vice-versâ. Presumably, therefore, there must have been two *Shwe-hmus*. The account of the proceedings as given to me, was this. The office of *Shwe-hmu* depended on the possession of the pair of scales which was used for weighing the gold in which the tax was paid. With these went also the *Shwe-hmu's* saddle, spear, and the royal order of appointment for the original, or at any rate an early, *Shwe-hma*; but the scales were the real thing. Any one who could get possession of them by fair means became *Shwe-hmu* for as long as he could keep them. A man would therefore call his friends together and go to the *Shwe-hmu's* house and attack him. The use of iron in the fight was prohibited, and, as I have mentioned above, *Ganan-mas* could not fight with *Ganan-pwas*, nor vice-versâ. Bamboos were apparently the usual weapons. If the claimant beat the *Shwe-hmu*, and was able to carry off the scales by dint of fair fighting, he became *Shwe-hmu*, but he could not steal them or get them by fraud. If the claimant was defeated the *Shwe-hmu* fined him, the amount of the fine being, I think, three *zin* of silver (say £20 nowadays, but of course of greater value before the annexation). There was no limit in either direction to the time for which the *Shwe-hmuship* must or might be held, and a man might be *Shwe-hmu* any number of different times. I have seen men who were *Shwe-hmus* at three or four different times, and six months or a year was a very fair tenure. One man I met was still a butt because, fifteen years before, perhaps, he had been *Shwe-hmu* for one day only.

I never heard of any superstitious beliefs attaching to any of the objects, and I do not know anything about the age of the custom or its origin. The origin of the Kadus themselves is obscure; they are supposed to be in part at any rate of Kachin origin, but their own story is that four generations ago they came up to *Ganan* from a large forest in the *Shwebo* or *Monywa* district on the west of the *Chindwin*. I only heard of this custom as I was leaving *Ganan* for the last time, as it turned out, as I was immediately transferred to another district. I had therefore no time to make any inquiries on the spot.

DAVID SHEARME, I. C. S., Burma.

12th November, 1902.

STORIES FROM LEITRIM AND CAVAN.

The following stories were told to me in 1894 by a domestic servant named Ellen McKeever, the daughter of a small farmer living near the town of Cavan. Her mother, from whom she had obtained some of them, was a native of county Leitrim.

The Dead Letter.

This was a very poor old woman, she used to go about begging, and every week she'd give half-a-crown to the priest to say a token of a mass for some of the souls in purgatory. So this week she could only give a shilling, so she went to the priest and told him and asked him if he'd say it for her, and he said he would. The priest asked her who he'd say it for, and she said for the most needful soul.¹

One very cold morning not long after that she was sitting in a field praying and feeling very hungry, when a very old man with a long white beard came up to her. He pointed out a gentleman's place near there and gave her a letter, and told her to go there and to give that letter to nobody only the master of the house. So she went there and rung the bell, and the butler came to the door. So she asked to see the master, and the butler laughed at her, and said she couldn't see him, and to send a message. And she said no, that she'd have to see the master himself. So the butler went and told him, and he said to show her into the room. I think it was in his bedroom he was. So the old woman went up to the room, and gave him the letter, and told him that an old man gave it to her. He got very pale when he read it, and he told her to examine all the pictures round the room to see if she saw a face like the man that gave her the letter. So she pointed to one hanging over his bed and said that was it. So the gentleman said that was his father, that was dead for twenty years, and told her that what was in the letter was that he was to make her comfortable all her life, for she was the cause of sending him² to Heaven.

So he married her and she lived ever after there.

¹ i.e., the soul that needed it most.

² i.e., the writer.

The Dog Spirit.

There were two brothers once who lived on two farms close together, and one of them had a pothook¹ making at a forge some distance away, and one evening there came a skiff of snow. So he said to the wife, as he couldn't do anything else he would go to the forge for the pothook. So he put on a heavy frieze coat and went to the forge and got the pothook and hung it round his neck, and started to come home.

When he came to the cross near his house, where one road went to his farm and one to his brother's, it was getting dark, but he could see by the light from the snow a big black dog lying by the roadside. And the brother's dog used to be there very often, many a time before he met him, and the man thought it was him that was there. So he called him by his name and the dog didn't stir; and he called him again three times, and the third time the dog jumped up at his throat. So he stooped down and the dog went over his head. And as soon as the dog was over, it ran round and made the same attempt for three times after each other. And the third time the man stooped along to the gripe² to see would he get a stone, and he laid his hand on a donkey that was there. And as soon as he did the donkey ran on, and the man held on to him and threw his leg over him and put his arms round his neck.

The donkey ran along the road with the man on him for a long way, and the dog after him. And they ran and ran till they came to a little running stream across the road. And the donkey crossed, but the dog couldn't, but he turned into the field and took half the hedge with him in a blaze of fire.

The man got home then all right, and he went to the priest next morning and told him. The priest told him it was the devil that was waiting for somebody else, and that he disturbed him.

The narrator of the foregoing story attributed the farmer's happy escape to the hook which he carried round his neck, iron being much dreaded by spirits. I have been told of a malevolent ghost that used to haunt a road in Kerry and that often injured

¹ The pothook is S-shaped and used for suspending the potato-pot from the "crook," which is an iron bracket projecting from the back of the chimney.

² i.e., the ditch beside the road.

passers-by. One night it attacked a man who, fortunately for himself, was armed with a black-handled knife, with which he struck his assailant. The ghost disappeared and was never seen again, but next morning the knife was found on the road sticking in what looked like a lump of jelly. A donkey is a lucky animal owing to the cross on its back.

The Dead Priest.

This poor old man had one son, and he died ; and the man gave some money to the priest to say mass for him, and the priest died before he said the mass. So this man was travelling about¹ and one evening he went into the chapel, and he went into a confession box to say some prayers, and he fell asleep and never woke up till the middle of the night. The sexton locked up the chapel, thinking there was nobody there. So when the man woke up he heard a voice call, was there anybody there, and he looked out and he saw the priest on the altar dressed to say mass. So he made no answer—he was too much afraid—he said nothing. And the priest called three times and went away. So next morning the man told a priest, and the priest wouldn't believe him, but he said that he'd sit up with him and watch that night.

So they sat up, they both did, in the chapel, and at the same hour the priest came out again and called, "Is there anybody there?" And the other priest made answer and said yes, and asked him what was the matter. So he told him that he had a mass to say that he got money for, and that he couldn't go to Heaven without doing it, and that for two years he was coming every night and couldn't get any one to answer him.

So he said the mass and the other priest attended to him, and when he said the mass he went away.

The Man who sold his Daughter to the Devil.

Did you ever hear tell of the man who sold his daughter to the devil? He was a very poor man and he had one very handsome daughter, and he married a second time. She wasn't very good to the daughter, the second wife. He was going about his own

¹ i.e., tramping and begging.

place one morning very early, and he met a gentleman, and the gentleman asked him what he was doing out so early. So he said to him he was so poor he was doing all he could to try to live. So the gentleman asked him if he hadn't a very nice daughter, and he said he had. And I think he said he'd give him £20 if he'd sell him the daughter, and the man said he would. So this gentleman told him he must send her out without breaking her fast in the morning.

So the man went home and told the wife, and she was very glad to hear it. And the next morning she called the step-daughter very early and told her a gentleman was to meet her at a stile there was down from the house, and she was to go with him. The step-mother hid everything, except a bit of oaten cake she didn't notice, for fear the step-daughter would get a bit to eat. So when she was going out she got this bit of oaten cake on the table and eat it, and when she went to the stile there was no one there. The father went out at the same hour the next morning and met him there, and he told him he couldn't take her because she broke her fast. But the gentleman told him the next morning she was to sneeze three times and no one was to say, "God bless her." So she riz the next morning just the same as before, and she sneezed three times, and when she sneezed the third time the step-mother forgot, and said, "God bless you!" So when she went out there was nobody there.

So the father went out the third morning, and the devil told him who he was, and showed him the cloven foot he had, and was in an awful temper because he didn't get her, and took back the money off the man.

There is a belief in Ireland that it is dangerous to go outside the house in the morning before breaking one's fast, as the devil has then special power over one.

The Fairy's Question.

The priest came out this morning to say mass and he got the chalice broken. So when he was on the altar a little man came up to him with a red jacket on him, and told him that he would mend the chalice if the priest would tell him, "If we, what they call the Good People, will go to Heaven after the end of the

world." So the priest said that they would if there was the full of a writing pen of blood amongst the whole of them. So he went away and there was an awful noise after him like crying, and the chalice wasn't mended.

There is an anecdote in Kennedy's *Legendary Fictions* of a similar question being put to a priest, but the test that he imposed was a theological one. According to McKeever the fairies are one class of the fallen angels, the others being the air spirits, beings powerless alike for good or evil, and the devils. The last were in active rebellion, while the air spirits offended in word, and the fairies sinned in that they stood neutral in the contest. The fairies are often alluded to in English as "the Gentry." It is worth noting that this story implies that the fairy was able to enter a church during service !

The Crock of Gold.

There was a man, and he was very poor, and a very good workman, and never used to lose any time. And he couldn't make out how it was he couldn't be rich, and he such an honest working man—so industrious. He had a son and a daughter who was very handsome. He went out early one morning and saw a little man in a red jacket making shoes under a tree, so he caught hold of him and asked him what he was doing there so early. So he said, "I'm not any earlier out than what you are." So the man said yes, and that he couldn't make anything of that, he was always very poor and yet worked very hard. So he said, "Well, I'll tell ye where ye'll get a treasure, but as soon as ye take it out there must be a life lost afterwards, a dog or a cat will do." He told him then to lift up a flat stone that was on his own hearth, and under it he'd get a crock of gold, and that nobody was to know anything about it only his own family, and when he took out the crock to throw in a dog or a cat and let down the stone.

So they gathered around the stone, and they riz the stone and took the crock of gold out, and they were about to close the stone without putting anything in, when the daughter fell in and never was seen or heard after.

And the man had the money, but it never done him any good.

The fairy mentioned in this story seems to have been the Leprechaun, but McKeever did not say so, and I omitted to ask her.

BRYAN J. JONES.

NORTHUMBERIAN SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

THE following notes were taken down by me, 10th October, 1890, from the mouth of a member of the Roddam family of Roddam, an outlying estate in the parish of Ilderton, Northumberland :—

“There is a twenty minutes’ steep ascent up to the house which was my early home. Behind it the moors stretch away to the Cheviots, and till a few years ago it was fourteen miles from the railway. *Close* to the back of the house runs a public road, leading past the “town” of Roddam, as it was always called. This consists of a square paved court (paved with pebbles, I think), having on one side three cottages, on the second, one cottage, on the third a big *porte-cochère*, and on the fourth a wall and some trees. All the houses look *inwards* upon the court, and must be approached through the gateway. I am inclined to think some cottages may have been pulled down, for an account-book of 1795 has an entry of ‘6d. each to the children of the town for a Christmas-box, 15s.’ The cottages consist only of two ground-floor rooms each, containing box-beds. They are inhabited by the ‘hinds,’ or agricultural labourers. Each hind is bound to find so many women to help in the field-labour—harvesting, &c. These women were formerly called ‘bondagers,’ and are hired yearly at Wooler Fair (May 12th). They live in the houses of the hinds who hire them. The ‘herds,’ or shepherds, live in scattered cottages on the moor. The farms in the district are large, and many herds and hinds are employed on one farm. The herds’ and hinds’ families do not intermarry.

“Ilderton itself lies a mile and a half away across the moor (further by the road). It is a regular little village, not an enclosed court. The Ilderton people always used to lock a wedding-party into the Church till they pushed one or more gold coins under the door. This was done at the wedding of a lady of our family in 1858. Then a form was placed in the church-porch, over

which the party had to jump. I was a little girl of seven years old at the time, and I remember that the chimney-sweep lifted me over!¹

"The garden-boys at Roddam used to get up morris-dancing at Christmas. It was simply dancing with wooden swords, there was no play."

Thus far my informant. I may add that, according to tradition, the land on which the house stands was granted to the ancestor of the Roddams by King Athelstan, whose pacification of Northumbria (it will be remembered that he was the first West-Saxon king whose dominion reached so far north) has left more than one trace in the traditions of the country. There is a mound south of the house at Roddam known as "Athelstan's Mount," which was opened about the middle of the nineteenth century, and two very perfect earthen vases (British, to the best of my judgment) were found in it.²

Athelstan's gift is also rehearsed in the rhyming charter of Roddam :—

"I King Athelstan
Giffis heir to Paulane
Odam and Roddam
Als gude and als fair
As evir tha myne ware.
And yair to witness Mald my wyff."

In this form the charter is said to have been produced to substantiate the Roddam rights when Robert Stewart, Earl of Fife, invaded England in the time of Richard II. On the Roddam pedigree it is written as follows :—

"I King Athelstan gives unto the Roddam,
From me and mine unto thee and thine,
Before my wife Maude and my daughter Maudlin and my eldest son Henry.
And for a certen truth
I bite this wax with my gang-tooth.
As long as muir bears moss and knout grows hare,
A Roddam of Roddam for evermair."

Rhyming charters such as this are generally associated with the

¹ Cf. vol. xiii., p. 229.

² The rhyming charter of Roddam is to be found in the *Denham Tracts*, but for want of better authority accessible at the moment, I quote from Murray's *Handbook to Northumberland* (A. J. C. Hare).

name of the Conqueror.¹ It is needless to say that they cannot possibly date back either to his time or to Athelstan's. Professor Skeat refers the wording to the sixteenth century.

Attestation of a deed by the impression of the author's teeth occurs in the legends of Asoka, the first Emperor of India, B.C. 272-232 (see footnote).¹

The last couplet is evidently a real local popular rhyme, tacked on to the charter and not understood by the scribe; for the nonsensical "*knout* grows *hare*" must undoubtedly stand for *nowt* (singular number of *neat* cattle, horned beasts) grows *hair*, which is intelligible and appropriate.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

A BUCK SUPERSTITION.

By the kindness of Mr. Rorie, a member of the Society, we have received a cutting from the *Demerara Daily Chronicle* of January 27th, 1904, containing an account of the trial of Christie, a Buck Shaman, for the murder of an Indian woman named Kaliwa, in May, 1902. Kaliwa had been the wife of a Buck Indian named Taruma, and after the birth of twins two years ago had been in ill health. Taruma had got marabuntas and ants to sting her at Christie's orders, but she had not improved. Christie, his uncle, a *Marinow*, told him he must burn her, because she was the wife of a bad spirit, otherwise other people in the village would die of the same sickness. He burnt her between one and two moons after in the bush, putting wood under her and more on the top before she was dead. When people died in a house it was burnt sometimes, but they buried dead bodies. Twins were regarded as the children of an evil spirit, Pernowhari.

The prisoner said that a spirit in the shape of a large *Camoodie* had possessed Kaliwa when she gave birth to the children and he had seen it himself. Only the *Marinows* can see spirits. Sentence of death was passed.

EDITOR.

¹ Cf. G. L. Gomme on "Rhythmic Laws" in *The Antiquary*, 1st series, vol. viii. p. 12. Dukes, *Antiquities of Salop*, Appendix, p. xxiv. *Shropshire Folklore*, p. 584. *Debrett's Peerage*, 1790, vol. 3, s. v. Rawdon, Earl of Moira (quoted by Vincent A. Smith, *Asoka*, Clarendon Press, 1901, p. 188).

CORRESPONDENCE.

A CULTURE-TRADITION.

(*Ante*, vol. iii., p. 92.)

WHEN at Ntumbi, West Shire district in 1894, I obtained from a girl named Mbuya, daughter of Chipanga of Nziza, the story of which a translation is given below. I could make little or nothing of it at first (as, probably owing to want of practice on the part both of reciter and reporter, it is incomplete, and perhaps, in some places, not correctly taken down), but on seeing Dr. Elmslie's "Folklore Tales of Central Africa," in vol. iii. of *Folk-Lore*, I recognised it in "The Man who lived by Over-reaching Others," though as will be seen, there are some important differences. Dr. Elmslie gives no more precise indication as to locality of collection than Lake Nyasa. My locality was about sixty miles to the south of the lake, and inhabited by so-called "Angoni"—in reality Anyanja, with a sprinkling of migrants from other tribes. The general language was Chinyanja. Chipanga was, so far as I know, a Mnyanja, his wife, Mbuya's mother, a Yao. The girl knew both languages, but usually spoke Chinyanja, in which she dictated this story to me. I was at first inclined to conjecture that it might be an older form than Dr. Elmslie's version, some native Euhemerus about Kotakota or Bandawe having substituted a man for the rabbit as more possible. But it is also conceivable that where "Brer Rabbit" is the hero of almost every "*kuchenjera*" story¹ (as is the case in those I collected at Ntumbi and Blantyre—the tortoise and one or two other creatures occasionally takes his place) adventures originally not his own might be attributed to him.²

¹ One involving cleverness.

² Mbuya makes the guinea-fowls eat "sand," while Dr. Elmslie has "white ants"—the former seems to me to have far more point, white ants being rather a delicacy than otherwise, both to fowls and human beings.

Mbuya's story is as follows :

"The Rabbit took wild fruits (*mpinjimpinji*) and put them into his bag ; and he came to [a man who was] eating earth ; and he said, 'Do not eat earth—eat my *mpinjimpinji*.' [And he gave him some. And when the man had eaten them, he said], 'Give me other things [in exchange].' And he gave him a weaving-stick (*panga*). [And he went on and] found a man weaving cloth and beating it on the ground,¹ and he gave him a weaving-stick. He said, 'Give me something else, [since] you have taken my weaving-stick.' And he gave him hoes (*makasu*). [And he went on and] found [people digging with pointed sticks (*nchokoti*)]. He said, 'Hoe with these hoes'; and his companions hoed. He said, 'You have hoed with my hoe, [give me something instead of it]' And they gave him arrows (*mibvi*). [And he went on and] found people shooting with small arrows (*nsewe*),² and he said, 'Shoot with these [proper] arrows,' [And they did so, and] he said, 'You have taken my arrows,' [give me something instead]? And they gave him *mapira* (millet). [And he went on and] came to some guinea-fowl eating sand, and he said] 'Eat *mapira*.' And the guinea-fowl left off eating sand [and ate the *mapira*, and he said,] 'You have eaten my *mapira*.' And they gave him some red clay (*chikule*).³ [And he went on] and found some frogs anointing themselves with mud. He said, 'Anoint yourselves with this red clay.' The frogs anointed themselves. He said, 'Give me my red clay.' The frogs said . . .⁴ . . . The rabbit just went away. The frogs went into the water."

In Dr. Elmslie's story it is a man who is the hero. He starts similarly, by finding wild fruit (this time figs) in the bush. He gives them to a man eating grass and gets in return (after having vainly demanded back his figs) a fishing-net. The remaining steps in the series are as follows :

¹ The original is not quite clear here, but I think this must be the meaning. The *panga* is a stick used for pushing up the threads of the west after they have been passed between those of the warp.

² *Nsewe* are small arrows, used by children in play, made from stalks of grass.

³ *Chikule* (or *kundwi*) is a kind of red ochre, which is mixed with oil and smeared on the hair by Lake Nyasa women. A similar mixture is used among other tribes for anointing the body.

⁴ Here I fail to make sense of the text.

People catching fish with their hands receive a net and give fish.

People eating porridge with no relish receive a fish and give millet.

Guinea-fowls eating white ants receive millet and give feathers.

People wearing maize-leaves receive feathers and give a goat.

At this point the resemblance between the two stories ends. The trick by which, in Dr. Elmslie's, the man exchanges his goat for a cow and then for forty cattle, has no place in the other version. Indeed, I should not be surprised to find that it was really part of a distinct story grafted on to the "House that Jack built" sequence, which, I cannot help fancying, embodies some tradition of the introduction of various improvements in the arts of life, *e.g.* fishing-nets, the substitution of the hoe for the digging-stick, &c. The *nchokoti* (or *mchokoto*, according to Dr. Hetherwick, who explains it as "a bamboo used for digging in the ground,"—the word appears to be both Nyanja and Yao), would seem to be still known, if not occasionally used, but the hoe or pick (*kasu*) is universal all over Central Africa, and in some parts forms a kind of currency. Certainly I can discover nothing like "over reaching" in this tale, though Mbuya's version, as I have it, leaves it uncertain what the frogs said or did, after beautifying themselves with red ochre. Of the words as they stand I can make nothing; but I imagine the drift of it is, that when asked to return the ochre, they answered that as it was all wet (*wa madzi*) they could not do so, and the Rabbit then, probably perceiving that (on the principle of "Ye canna get the breeks aff a Hielan' man") he would gain nothing by standing on his rights, took his departure. It is possible that there are many other steps in the series, but it is curious that the number of them in the two stories is identical, though the articles vary—the only one that is the same in both being the millet, which comes in at the same point in the tale, and is in each case given to guinea-fowl.

I have not succeeded in obtaining an exact analogue to this tale. The Rev. Duff Macdonald writes: "I do not remember any *sustained* narrative exactly the same as Dr. Elmslie's. The improvement referred to, however, strikes me as entering into many stories, so far as exemplified in *one* or *two* points; but I never heard such a full one as you indicate."

A. WERNER.

WHITSUNTIDE FATE.

(Vol. xii., p. 351.)

THERE is a good deal of information about Whitsuntide beliefs contained in Lady Wilde's *Ancient Legends of Ireland*, pp. 108 and 140. She gives no references or authorities, but I know from personal experience that most of the beliefs she records still exist among the country people. Whit-Sunday does not appear to be an unlucky day, but Whit-Monday is, and so to a lesser degree are the Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday following. It is most dangerous to travel or boat on Whit-Monday, and children or animals born on that day are evil-tempered and likely to take some man's life. It was customary in Louth to bury a Whit-Monday foal or calf, but this method of breaking the charm is now almost forgotten, though such animals are still distrusted. Only a few months ago a carter working near Dundalk, whose mare was trying to bite every one who approached her, explained her conduct by saying that she had been foaled on Whit-Monday. In Cavan when a cow calved on Whit-Monday a hole was dug right through a "ditch" (*i.e.* a bank), and the calf was passed along the tunnel thus made. A Kildare woman tells me that her grandmother invariably smothered chickens hatched on Whit-Monday. Louth people call a child born on Whit-Monday a "kingkisheen" (from Irish "cingcis," Whitsuntide), and say that a blow given by such a one is very dangerous. I have never heard of a kingkisheen being buried to avert ill luck, but it was believed in Louth and several other counties that if a live fly were placed in the child's hand soon after his birth and held there until it died, he would be freed from the curse.

BRYAN J. JONES.

MOCK BURIAL.

(Ibid.)

MISS J. A. LORD (Tyre) writes as follows in *Daughters of Syria*, the quarterly magazine of the British Syrian Mission, for April, 1904 :

"At the dispensary meeting, a few mornings ago, a woman brought a baby a thin, emaciated bag of skin and bones Some Bedaween women also present were asking different questions about the child ; finally one of them said to the mother : 'I will tell you of a remedy, which will not fail to make your boy fat and well You must take your son to the graveyard and put a basket over his head, lay him on a grave and say this : "Oh, you inhabitants of the grave, come and take your son, and give me back my son !" Repeat this several times, then leave your son there, and you retire a little distance away from him. Do this for some days, and you will see how your son grows fat and repays you for your trouble.'"

A. WERNER.

"BACK-FOOTED" BEINGS.

(*Ante*, p. 34, and vol. xii., p. 183.)

I CAN refer Miss Hull to an instance of this curious belief in Cornwall. John Stephens of Saint Ives, a man who by skilful trading laid the foundations of what became the biggest fortune in the Duchy, lived in the eighteenth century, and made his money by selling pilchards at Mediterranean ports. He was popularly and locally known as "the old Greek with his calves in front." My *History of Saint Ives* ascribes this to crooked legs and foreign trade, but the story of Deirdre shews that there may be a deeper significance in the phrase.

JOHN HOBSON MATTHEWS.

MONMOUTHSHIRE FOLKLORE.

(*Ante*, p. 85.)

MISS WHERRY'S charming Monmouthshire collections are a valuable addition to the lore of a county whose literature is all too undeveloped in this direction. "The mythical person" known as "Jack Kent," who is credited (p. 85) with so many diplomatic triumphs over the Evil One, is no other than Father John of

Kentchurch, D.D., Provincial of the Franciscans, an Oxford professor, and a Welsh bard whose poems are yet extant in seventeenth century MSS. He lived in the fifteenth century, and having scientific knowledge, could hardly fail (any more than his brother Bacon) to get credit for magical powers. Some of the feats attributed to him are obviously gigantic, and have no doubt been transferred to him from some forgotten giant. Such is his jumping off the Sugarloaf Mountain, near Abergavenny, on to the Skyrnid (the Sgiryd Fawr). His "heel-mark" in the latter mountain is an extensive pre-historic landslip, and is usually ascribed to the earthquake which took place at the Crucifixion. The Sgiryd Fawr was always regarded as sacred and mysterious. More than one Monmouthshire parish church was built on a mound formed of earth brought from this mountain; and it was the custom at the burial of Catholics, right down to the early nineteenth century, to sprinkle on the coffin earth brought from the chapel of Saint Michael, which stood on the slope near the landslip. Saint Michael's, or the Holy Mountain, were other names for the Great Sgiryd.

The belief (p. 86) that if one kills an adder and holds it over fire its four legs will come out, reminds one of the Jewish tradition that the serpent had legs and walked before Adam's fall. I have heard this belief referred to a "race-memory" of antediluvian reptiles.

The *Book of Baglan*, a celebrated Welsh MS. of Gwentian pedigrees, written 1607, twice mentions a certain giant, "Gigas Orgo" or "Giginn Orgo," to whom it attributes the first building of Abergavenny Castle. I cannot explain the word *Giginn* unless it be some obsolete Welsh word for *giant*, but in any case the combination "Giginn Orgo" involves a radical form *Gorgo*, in which one is much inclined to recognise the *Guorguol* or Werwolf of *Arthur and Gorlagon* (see Mr. Nutt's notes, p. 61). I may add that Orgo is the only giant I have met with in the folklore of Monmouthshire.

JOHN HOBSON MATTHEWS.

Monmouth.

CHARM AGAINST TOOTHACHE.

(Ante, pp. 196.)

THE following, which may well be identical with the Pembroke-shire charm above referred to, is in the Edinburgh Museum, marked No. 18.

"Petter was Laying and his head upon a marrable Ston weping
and Christ came by and said what else thou Petter Petter
answered and sad Lordgod my twoth Raise thou Petter and be
healed and whosoever shall carry these lines in my name shall
never feel the twothick.

KETT M'AULAY."

This is written on a piece of paper in tolerably clear though not cultivated manuscript. A description placed with it says that the paper is eight inches long, two-and-a-half broad, and that the charm was written and sold by a professional witch named Kate M'Aulay, residing at Kishorn, Lochcarron, Ross-shire, in 1855; also that it was folded small and was worn in a small silk bag hung round the neck of a shepherd, who had given half-a-crown to the witch for the charm, which, however, was to lose its efficacy when looked at.

HERBERT M. BOWER.

[This is perhaps the commonest of all written charms found in the United Kingdom. The fullest version, a Latin one, occurs in Cockayne's *Anglo-Saxon Leechdoms*, iii., 164.—ED.]

MIDSUMMER BONFIRES.

(Ante, p. 105.)

THE Rev. R. Spark, M.A., minister of this parish, has kindly copied for me the part of Mr. Hogg's will that refers to the Bonfire. The will is engrossed in the Session Records under date 1787. It is interesting to note that the fire (as I surmised) is referred to as an existing institution.

"Kirk Session Records; Durris, Kincards. Anno 1787.

"Extract from the will of Alexander Hogg of Twickenham, in the county of Midlesex [sic], gentleman, dated the 18th day of April, 1786:

'I give and bequeath to the Kirk Session of the parish of Durris, in the county of Kincardine, otherwise the Mearns, North Britain, and to their successors in office the Kirk Session, the sum of five hundred pounds old four per cent. Bank Annuities . . . upon Trust and to and for the uses, intents, and purposes hereafter mentioned . . . and the Kirk Session shall pay annally for ever [such and such sums] and also ten shillings annually for ever to the Herds round Cairn-Shee for their mid-summer fire, as reside in Bogg, Upperton, Mains, The Mill Standing Stones, Quithlehead, two Newtowns, Barns, and Cairnhill.'

The herds—lads used for keeping cattle in Scotland (till sixty years ago) when the country was still unfenced—at these ten farms, got sixpence each.

A. MACDONALD.

THE PETTING-STONE.

(Vol. xiii., p. 226.)

I FORWARD the following cutting from the *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 11 April, 1904.

"At the Parish Church, Eglingham, in the presence of a large congregation of relatives and friends, the marriage took place of Mr. Thos. Bowey Burn, eldest son of Mr. E. Burn, The Croft, Eglingham, and Miss Alice Maud Rogers, eldest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Rogers, Upnor, Kent . . . On leaving the church the newly-wedded couple were met with the usual shower of rice and confetti, and, again, on passing from the churchyard another ancient custom had to be observed, that of surmounting the 'petting stool.' Both ordeals having been successfully gone through, the happy couple drove to the Croft," &c.

W. CROOKE.

REVIEWS.

REPORTS OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXPEDITION TO
TORRES STRAITS. Vol. V. Sociology, Magic, and Religion
of the Western Islanders. Cambridge University Press, 1904.
4to. Pp. xii, 378, with 22 plates and 84 figures in the text.
Price 25s. net.

THE present Report, the first complete volume of a work which is to embrace six in all, will naturally, with its sister volume dealing with the Eastern Islanders, be the main object of interest to the Folk-Lore Society. Those, however, who intend to purchase the pair will do well to secure the whole series, which they can do at comparatively little extra cost, thanks to the reduction given to subscribers for the set.

The fact that Somatology, Physiology, and Psychology also figured in the programme explains in part why an important expedition should have selected a small group of islands, which had been under missionary influence for some thirty years, for their field. On the one hand, Dr. Haddon had already established friendly relations with many of the islanders in 1888; on the other, far more complete statistics can be obtained from a small community than from a large one. There was further the additional reason that, lying as the islands do between New Guinea and Cape York, there were questions of transmission of culture and racial mixture which must be solved, if at all, before civilisation had made too much headway.

The most important contribution in this volume, and also the greatest novelty, are the genealogical tables compiled by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers. One of the main difficulties of getting to the bottom of savage ideas about kinship is the fact that few, if any, native terms have European correlatives, or *vice versa*. By familiarity with the language or long residence among a people this difficulty can be overcome, but until Dr. Rivers came on the scene no field anthropologist let loose among an unknown tribe could count on collecting in a few weeks without an interpreter, reliable

data as to terms of kinship and marriage regulations. Dr. Rivers has already pointed out in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* (vol. xxx., p. 74) the multifarious uses to which these genealogies can be put; they will tell us, for example, the average fertility of a marriage, the relative fertility of marriages within and without the recognised intermarrying group, and many other things; they may be used as a framework for a history of the community; and they will naturally give the fullest information as to terms of kinship and marriage regulations. Beyond this, where, as in the present case, extensive somatological observations have been made, material for the study of heredity is provided, especially if, as was previously the case with the Torres Straits islanders, until a paternal (or grandmotherly) Government interfered, it is the custom to preserve the skulls or bones of deceased relatives.

The volume before us, a large portion of the materials for which was gathered in Mabuiag, opens with a short introduction, giving a general account of the islands and definitions of a few native terms left untranslated in the subsequent pages. Then follow forty-six folktales collected by Dr. Haddon, including nature myths, culture myths, totem myths, spirit myths, bogey tales, comic tales, sagas, and narratives about people. The plots of these are summarised and an abstract of the anthropological incidents is also given.

Next come the genealogies, and a discussion of them by Dr. Rivers. The method of collecting them was simplicity itself. Some one man was taken as a starting point, and the names of his family noted, then those of his parents and parents-in-law, and so on; and, in many cases, thanks to the small vocabulary required, Dr. Rivers was able to accomplish this without the aid of an interpreter. As a proof of the dissociation caused by European influences, it is interesting to note that on Mabuiag the genealogies might be and were discussed in public with gusto and even fervour, whereas on Murray Island, which is comparatively untouched, information could only be got from a native when he was out of earshot of other islanders. Complications occasionally arose; as for example when, owing to the custom of exchanging names, a number of individuals apparently figured in two quite distinct families; the custom of adoption, too, introduced an element of uncertainty that was more difficult to eliminate. But on the whole Dr. Rivers is satisfied that the records are sub-

stantially accurate. A curious feature is that they go back in most cases four or five generations and then stop abruptly. It is impossible, in the face of the accuracy of the genealogies actually recorded, which reach back at least a hundred years, to regard this as due to a failure of memory. Dr. Rivers makes the very probable suggestion that it has something to do with the introduction of patrilineal descent.

The third section, also by Dr. Rivers, deals with the system of kinship, and is based on the genealogies. It is impossible within brief limits to discuss the system, which is of course classificatory, or to consider the ingenious suggestions made by Dr. Rivers as to the mode in which the meaning of various terms was extended. In connection with kinship terms a careful analysis of name tabus and avoidance is given. For a man the names of parents-in-law were of course tabu ; so, too, were the names of the wife's uncles and aunts, real and by marriage, of her grandparents, and great uncles and aunts and their children, and of the paternal nephew's wife, all of whom bear the kinship name *ira* ; the sister's husband, cousin's husband, wife's brother, wife's cousin's husband, and wife's male cousin were *imi*, and their names were tabu ; like the first group they sometimes conversed in a low tone ; finally the brother's wife, cousin's wife, wife's sister, wife's cousin's wife, and wife's female cousin were *ngaubat*, and this relationship too was a bar to conversation to some extent.

The avoidance customs were comparatively indefinite, and, as in the case of some Australian tribes, the mother-in-law was not hedged round with more severe rules than other relatives.

A highly interesting group of customs, which are, however, not dealt with fully, are those connected with the functions of certain kin. The maternal uncle in particular has special rights over his nephew, and has the power of stopping a fight in which he is engaged. With this may be compared the New Caledonian customs by which the maternal uncle acquires extensive rights over the property of a nephew whose blood is shed in his sight (*Les Miss. Cath.*, 1880, p. 68).

The fourth section, by Dr. Haddon and Dr. Rivers, deals with totemism. A careful study of the local distribution of the clans has shown that segmentation has almost certainly taken place. Various interesting points are brought out in connection with the rise of the *Sam* (cassowary) clan, which seems to be intrusive, and

has perhaps risen to a prominent position with some rapidity by virtue of unusual fertility; how far this was due to its foreign origin does not appear. Evidence was collected showing that there was a dual grouping of the clans; in Sabai the single village was formed of one long street, in which there were two clans on one side and three on the other; and the bulk of the marriages took place across the street. As to Mabuiag the information was somewhat hazy; our authors suggest that the two groups occupied separate localities, and that the ancient separation was obscured by local movements of population. This view at first sight does not fit in with Dr. Rivers' suggestion that female descent went out only a little more than a hundred years ago; for clearly there can be no local grouping unless the determinant spouse (*i.e.*, the one from whom the children take their totems) retains her or his residence, and the husband or wife, as the case may be, removes from among his own people. Of such a custom we might expect to find distinct traces in the law of inheritance, but the rule appears to be equal division of property between sons and daughters; this and the large testatory powers may of course be due to the change from female to male descent, but a discussion of this point would have been useful. The custom postulated by Dr. Rivers existed, however, and as a matter of fact it is still usual for the husband to remove and live with his wife. This is mentioned on p. 230, but it is by no means clear from the expressions used there that it was ever a universal practice; there cannot well have been a local distribution, however, unless the exceptions were very few. Statistics on this point might readily have been prepared from the genealogies, and a fuller discussion of the question, together with that of the prior existence of matriliney, would have been very desirable. If, as appears to be the case, the clans were also localised (p. 173), it is not difficult to understand why a polygamist took his other wives from the same clan as the first (p. 244). This, and still more the marriage of sisters, would tend to secure that their landed property was less scattered than would otherwise have been the case.

An important question, on which no conclusion is reached, is that of subsidiary totems. By this is meant, the authors say (p. 180), not anything analogous to Mr. Howitt's sub-totems, which he regards as nascent kin-totems, but an arrangement by which a man has as secondary totem an object which may be the chief totem of

another clan. Apparently he may marry into the clan of his chief totem, but not of his subsidiary totem. It is suggested that the change from female descent has been the cause of this, and the marriage regulation just alluded to supports this view of the case.

Elsewhere mention is made of the segmentation of clans as a possible cause of the rise of subsidiary totems. On p. 236 it is suggested that certain divisions adopted certain subsidiary totems. In these latter cases the term seems to have the meaning given to it by Mr. Howitt.

In the account of the relation between totemism and religion there is unfortunately no information on the position of the subsidiary totem as regards magical ceremonies, though facts bearing on this point might have helped to clear up the question. The section concludes with a brief summary of our knowledge of totemism in British New Guinea.

The next two sections contain a good but brief account of birth and puberty customs (girls) from the pen of Dr. Seligmann. Twins are regarded as unlucky, as in so many other parts of the world. The moon is believed to take human shape and exercise the *droit de prélibation*.

Dr. Haddon deals with the initiation of boys. In Tutu in the daytime they were secluded at a distance from habitations, in the *kwod*, which corresponds to the men's house elsewhere, and was liberally painted with soot; after nightfall they were marched back to a house on the outskirts of the village, where they also remained if it were wet. Moral instruction was given, together with hints on the use of love-charms. The whole concluded with an initiation feast, at which, if the youth were fortunate, a desirable lady offered him her hand and heart (there was a strict rule against proposals from the bashful bachelor), and he was happy ever after. The ceremonies differ somewhat from island to island, and each locality is dealt with separately.

From Dr. Haddon's account of courtship and marriage it appears that the missionaries have very unnecessarily set their faces against woman's rights, so far as they include the privilege of proposing to the eligible young man who has gained her heart by his dancing. Even now, however, the preliminary steps are often taken by the lady, and specimens of love-letters, some, *horribile dictu*, forwarded on slates, are given; they are brief and to the point. In spite of female privileges in this respect bride-

purchase was the rule, and the value of the lady was variously rated at that of a canoe, a necklace of dog's teeth, or, in 1849, a glass bottle. The husband was bound to pay his wife's relatives for each child born to him. Possibly this is evidence of the prior matrilineal stage.

Dr. Rivers gives an excellent discussion of marriage regulations in section nine. On the whole intra-clan marriage was exceedingly rare, and seems to have been possible only when the subsidiary totems were different. Marriage between near kin was unknown, and very rare between remote kin. The evidence goes to show, however, that there was a differentiation in respect of the same legal degree of kinship, dependent possibly on a former identity of kinship and clanship. It is a worse offence to marry a *babat* of the same than of another clan.

The funeral ceremonies are described for each locality separately. In Mabuiag the thumbs and great toes of the corpse were tied together, and it was sewn up in a mat. It was then carried out of the camp feet foremost, so that the ghost might not come back to trouble the survivors. A curious feature was that the *mariget*, who performed the funeral ceremonies, &c., must be of another clan to the dead man. The body was placed on a *sara*, and the friends of the deceased summoned by pantomime, the movements of the totem of the dead man being imitated; they brought bows and arrows, and shot at both the *sara* and the *mariget*. These latter are stated to have been shot at because it was assumed they injured the corpse, but it seems possible that the original idea was that of driving away the soul who is near them. After much lamentation the garden of the deceased was devastated, and this closed the first day of mourning. After an interval of several days his relatives returned and beat the *sara* to drive away the ghost ("to drive rest of devil out"), and the head and lower jaw were placed in an ant's nest. When the bones were bare, the wife or other near relative wrapped them up and deposited them in a crevice in the rocks. The skull was decorated and handed to the nearest relatives.

We pass over some interesting sections on Public Life, Morals, Personal Names, Land Tenure, Trade, and Warfare, and come to Magic and Religion.

Elaborate ceremonies were necessary to prepare a canoe for turtle-fishing, and the dugong and sawfish were also objects of

special ceremonies, which seem in some cases to have been performed by the clans bearing the names of the animals. Ceremonies were performed to ensure a good crop of fruit, and rain and wind making were not unknown. One of the most interesting as well as the most valuable portions of the book is that on the cult of Kwoiam, a hero who is regarded as an *augud* or totem in some of the islands. He appears to have been a real person, a North Queensland native, whose mother migrated to Mabuiag. His saga is found in the Folktale section. He is essentially a war-chief, and on the war-path two *augud*-men with Kwoiam emblems led the two columns into which the warriors were divided. His shrine was a cave in which were baskets of skulls and other objects.

On the island of Yam the heroes were Sigai and Maiau, and in their case the totemic character was more marked. Two totems seem to have been swallowing up the rest, and a unique feature of the cult was the presence of a stone beneath the effigies of the heroes in which the *augud*'s life resided.

The idea of a deity seems to have been unknown to the Western Islanders, and their ideas on the subject of a future life were vague, if, as is very probable, European influence has not led to the details of them being forgotten.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the index is to appear in the last volume. If it is as full as it should be, it may be a trifle unwieldy, and it cannot in any case appear for some time. The convenience of students would have been consulted if indexes, or in default of them elaborate analyses, had been added to each volume. They are the more needed as, in the volume before us, the same subject is treated by more than one of the authors, with the result that the data tend to be scattered. But even if the difficulties attendant on multiple authorship have not been overcome in every case, the work is nevertheless one which does credit to the authors and the publishers alike. The illustrations are excellent, so is the general get-up of the volume. It is not a little curious that England is the only nation with many lower races under her sway who does not think anthropology worthy of official encouragement. When we have got so far we shall find that there are no more savages left to study.

N. W. THOMAS.

L'ANNÉE SOCIOLOGIQUE, publiée sous la direction de Emile Durkheim, Professeur de Sociologie à l'Université de Bordeaux. Septième Année (1902-1903). Paris : Félix Alcan. 1904.

WE have begun to look for the publication, year by year, in *L'Année Sociologique*, of important contributions towards the elucidation of obscure problems in connection with anthropological science. This year, at all events, the expectation will be satisfied. The *Mémoire* presented to us by Messrs. Hubert and Mauss is in continuation of a series, commenced in previous volumes, having for its object the introduction of a certain number of definite notions, and consequently of scientific nomenclature, into the study of religious phenomena. The authors complain, with no little reason, of the want of precise classification and an accurate vocabulary in the history of religion. It is this, they think, which has retarded the progress of a study so rich in facts, and so capable of yielding abundant results. Members of the Folk-Lore Society will recollect that some five years ago the same authors presented in *L'Année Sociologique* an essay on the nature and function of sacrifice. The present work may be regarded as carrying on the attempt at analysis and definition from the domain of religion into a parallel region. In it they attempt to formulate a general theory of magic.

Magic has been the subject of much discussion among anthropologists during the last few years. As an outcome of this discussion Dr. Frazer, in the second edition of *The Golden Bough*, put forward a formal theory. Definitions there had been before, but none so completely worked out—perhaps none so bold—as his. According to him and the school which he represents, magic is a sort of savage science. To quote *The Golden Bough*: “Wherever sympathetic magic [in which expression mimetic magic is also included] occurs in its pure unadulterated form, it assumes that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency. . . . Thus the analogy between the magical and the scientific conception of the world is close. In both of them the succession of events is perfectly regular and certain, being determined by immutable laws, the operation of which can be foreseen and calculated precisely; the elements of caprice, of chance, and of accident are banished from the course of nature. Both of

them open up a seemingly boundless vista of possibilities to him who knows the causes of things and can touch the secret springs that set in motion the vast and intricate mechanism of the world. . . . The fatal flaw of magic lies not in its general assumption of a succession of events determined by law, but in its total misconception of the nature of the particular laws which govern that succession. If we analyse the various cases of sympathetic magic which have been passed in review in the preceding pages, and which may be taken as fair samples of the bulk, we shall find them to be all mistaken applications of one or other of two great fundamental laws of thought, namely, the association of ideas by similarity and the association of ideas by contiguity in space or time. A mistaken association of similar ideas produces imitative or mimetic magic ; a mistaken association of contiguous ideas produces sympathetic magic in the narrower sense of the word. The principles of association are excellent in themselves, and indeed absolutely essential to the working of the human mind. Legitimately applied they yield science ; illegitimately applied they yield magic, the bastard sister of science.”¹

“The fatal flaw” of the theory set forth in the eloquent paragraphs from which I have taken these sentences is that it concentrates the attention too exclusively on one department of magic, thus reducing the whole field of magic almost entirely to sympathetic magic, and (explicitly in words immediately contiguous, which I have not space to quote, and implicitly in the whole passage) it leaves aside as contaminated by religion a considerable mass of practices, always and everywhere regarded by those who practise or witness them as magical, in which the effect contemplated is held to be produced not directly but by personal agency. The authors of the present *Mémoire* therefore seek a new definition, an all-embracing theory. They do indeed refer to other theories than that of Dr. Frazer ; but in effect the theory of Dr. Frazer and that of Dr. Jevons (which is treated as practically identical) are kept more particularly in view throughout the discussion.

In pursuit of their object the authors begin by considering separately the agents, the acts, and the representations of magic. They call the agent, or person accomplishing the magical acts,

¹ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*,² vol. i., pp. 61, 62.

magician, and so regard him, even when not a professional but merely performing those acts casually, and whether for his own benefit or for that of others. Magical representations are the ideas and beliefs corresponding to the magical acts. The magical acts are rites, provisionally distinguished from religious rites, as not part of an organised cult, but private, secret, mysterious, and tending towards the prohibited. This definition turns out in the sequel to be inaccurate, inasmuch as some magical rites are performed *coram publico*, like rain-making, or in the presence of a number of interested persons, like rites for the healing of the sick, or even by a large number of persons acting together, as in the case of the Dyak women who execute certain dances while their husbands are away head-hunting, to secure for them success. It is, however, not easy so to define a magical rite as to distinguish it infallibly from a religious rite. To define it as a sympathetic rite would be on the one hand to exclude rites of purification, rites of sacrifice, rites of preparation of magical instruments, and so forth, which are certainly magical. On the other hand it would include many religious rites which would be at once recognised as sympathetic, such as the ceremony at the Feast of Tabernacles, when the high priest poured water on the altar "in order that the rains of the year may be blessed to you," or as when the Hindu priest in the course of a solemn sacrifice pours a libation, and prolongs or shortens the life of the person on whose behalf he offers by lengthening or shortening the flow as he pours. Neither of these acts, forming part of a religious ceremony, can be regarded as simply magical. Moreover the distinction proposed by Dr. Frazer between a rite which operates directly of itself (magic) and a rite which operates indirectly by prayer and respectful persuasion is invalid, because a religious rite often has a value of its own, compelling even the gods to the will of the worshipper. Such, to enumerate only two instances, was the belief in the later days of classic paganism; and no reader of English literature need be reminded that it was upon this belief as exhibited in the Brahminical religion that Southey founded *The Curse of Kehama*. It is not difficult to guess what Dr. Frazer would reply on both these points, and it must be said at once that there is no member of the definition given by the authors of a magical rite that is true for all times and all places. It is a provisional definition only, put forth for the purpose of the

inquiry, since some definition was manifestly necessary. By the end of the inquiry the authors abandon it, if I understand them aright, insisting, as the nature of their argument requires, on the social character of the phenomena, and the mutual interaction of the magician and the society in which he officiates, at all events in the early stages of civilisation.

Provided with these definitions the authors proceed to their investigation. I cannot here follow the details, which occupy more than a hundred pages of keen and suggestive criticism. It must suffice to say that the sympathetic formula is shown to be insufficient to account for the facts, even of that department of magic called sympathetic magic. Sympathy is only the means by which the magical force passes from the magician to the object at which it is aimed; it is not the magical force itself. That still remains to be explained. Nor does the notion of magical properties imputed to many of the materials used in the magical rite explain of itself the facts. In the first place, normally the notion of property is not the only one present. The employment of substances having magical properties is ritually conditioned. They must be collected according to rule, at certain times, in certain places, with certain means, and after certain ritual preparations. And when collected they must be employed according to certain rules and with the accompaniment of rites, often exceedingly elaborate, which permit the utilisation of their qualities. In the second place, the magical property is not conceived as naturally, absolutely and specifically inherent in the thing to which it is attached, but always as relatively extrinsic and conferred. Sometimes it is conferred by a rite. At other times it is explained by a myth, in which case it is clearly regarded as accidental and acquired. It often resides in secondary characters, such as form, colour, rarity, and so forth. In the third place, the notion of magical property suffices so little, that it is always confounded with a very generalised idea of force and nature. The idea of the effect to be produced may indeed be precise; but that of the special qualities of the substance to produce it and their immediate action is always obscure. On the contrary, the idea of things having undefined virtues is particularly prominent in magic. Salt, blood, saliva, coral, iron, crystals, precious metals, the mountain ash, the birch, the sacred fig-tree, camphor, incense, tobacco are among the many objects which embody general magical

powers, capable of all sorts of applications. Corresponding with this is the extreme vagueness of the designations applied to magical properties, such as divine, sacred, mysterious, lucky, unlucky, and so forth. The notion of property passes over easily into power and spirit. Property and power are inseparable terms; property and spirit are often confounded. The virtues or properties of an object often belong to it as the abode of a spirit. Spirits are indeed often the agents of magic. It is hardly too much to say that there is no magical rite in which their presence is not in some degree possible, though not expressly mentioned. Magic works in a special atmosphere, if not in the world of demons, at least in conditions in which their presence is possible. Beyond doubt, one of the essential characteristics of magical causality is that it is spiritual. Yet the idea of spiritual personalities ill represents the general anonymous forces which constitute the power of magicians. It gives no account of the virtue of words or gestures, the power of a look or of the intention, the influence or the mode of action of a rite. It does not explain why the magical rite controls and directs spiritual existences, any more than the sympathetic formula explains why the rite acts directly on the object.

In short, behind the sympathetic formula, behind the notions of property and of spirits, there is another notion still more mysterious, the notion of power, vague, impersonal, always operating, irresistible, or depending for its efficaciousness on conditions not altogether at command. This power is known to the Melanesians as *mana*, to various tribes of North America as *orenda*, or *wakan*, to the Malays as *kramát*, to the Indo-Chinese as *deng*. By its very vagueness and impersonality this power enshrines possibilities illimitable. It may be materialized, localized, personalized; but it ceases not to be spiritual, to act at a distance, and that by direct connection, if not by contact, to be mobile and to move without movement, to be impersonal though clothed in personal forms, to be divisible yet continuous. Our notions of luck, of influence, of quintessence, of the Evil Eye, are pale survivals of a notion much richer and more fruitful. It is this notion which accounts for the phenomena of magic. Without it, magic is incomprehensible; like a sentence without the copula, the action, the affirmation is wanting.

Dr. Frazer, of course, does not overlook this important notion.

But he ascribes it to a "fusion or confusion of magic with religion," which he thinks is "not primitive;" for he holds "that there was a time when man trusted to magic alone for the satisfaction of such wants as transcended his immediate animal cravings." The entire trend of Messrs. Hubert and Mauss' argument contravenes this opinion. For them the notion of *mana* is not merely the *idée mère* of magic; it is also the *idée mère* of religion. In other words magic and religion are not opposed to one another as Dr. Frazer would oppose them. Magic, it is true, has relations with technics and with science. But its deepest, its most intimate relations are with religion, for magic and religion grow from a common root.

Such is in outline the theory of magic here propounded. Fully to appreciate the argument, it should be read *in extenso*. For want of space I have been obliged to omit, or pass lightly over, not only many of the details (some of them important links in the chain) but also some digressions throwing light on the main thesis. Much is said on magical rites, on magical contagion, on the limitation of the effect of the rite by attention to its object, on the dead and on demons as magical agents, and on the social aspects of magic, which would repay consideration. The argument, though lengthy, is well sustained; and, to express my own opinion, the theory satisfies the conditions more completely than any other hitherto put forward in a connected form. The rationalism of primitive man is incredible. Sceptical, using the word in the sense of hesitating to believe anything which does not square with one's prejudices, he may have been, as the modern savage is sceptical, as the devout believer is sceptical. But the unknown must have pressed too heavily upon him, with all its terrors, to admit of rationalism. From the condition of mind thus generated, the feeling of unpersonalized power all around him, its possibilities and his comparative helplessness, rose the stock, at first undifferentiated, but ultimately branching on the one hand into religion and on the other hand into magic. There he found a present refuge and help in time of trouble. The "fusion or confusion of magic with religion" is, in my view, primitive; their opposition is the result of the evolution of both. No other theory will explain the facts.¹

¹ The point is personal and unimportant, but Messrs. Hubert and Mauss seem to have mistaken my position. I may, therefore, perhaps be allowed to say that I have never regarded sympathetic magic as more than a single department of magic, and I have never accepted the theory that magic is incipient

The reviews of books and articles in various periodicals, with which the rest of the volume is occupied, do not call for any remark, except for the purpose of drawing attention to their methodical arrangement and the careful criticism they contain. This part of the volume forms an admirable guide for students to the literature of all sociological subjects published during the period to which it relates.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

OM RAGNAROK. Af AXEL OLRIK. (Saertryk af "Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie"). Kjobenhavn. 1902.

MUCH recent speculation on the origins of those pagan beliefs which survive in the Edda has taken the form of a fantastically ingenious endeavour to prove that the stories there given, instead of deriving from Northern paganism, are in the main literary perversion of borrowed material, or of heroic legend. Dr. Olrik does not belong to this school, and his inquiry into the Ragnarok myth presents a genuine and scholarly arraying of parallels, together with deductions drawn therefrom as to the origin of the Doom of the Gods.

Ragnarok, by popular etymology translated *the Dusk*, but more correctly the *Destruction* or *Doom of the Gods*, is the pivot of the mythical system given in the Edda and in such historical poems as the dirges of Eirik Bloodaxe and Hakon the Good. That system, in all probability the growth of the Viking age, is at once a glorification of a life of warfare and an explanation of the misfortune that overtakes the brave. All things must end, the good is short-lived and quickly passing, valour meets disaster: that is the Northman's faith, as read in legend, lay, and saga; and that a man should live while life lasts and fall fighting at the end is its outcome in practical experience. As a fate too strong thus shadows human life, so that necessity with which not even the Gods may strive waits for the higher powers: known to the silent

science. My opinion on the relation of magic and religion was expressed in my review of *The Golden Bough* in *Man*, 1901.

Norns, dimly foreseen by the Gods. Foredoomed to perish, they yet prepare to fight ; and the bravest earthly warriors fall that they may join Odin's host.

But there are many signs accompanying Ragnarok which point us back to a more primitive age, when men did not speculate on fate, but found enough to think about in common fears and needs. These are the very signs which, paralleled as they are in other sources, have led some inquirers to see in Ragnarok the influence of Christian ideas. A common basis in custom is always a more satisfactory explanation of parallels in myth than the rather cowardly borrowing hypothesis which leaves so much to be assumed, and the parallels collected by Dr. Olrik, from races so far removed as the Tartars and the North American Indians, discredit the latter still further, since the wider a legend is spread the more likely is it to be indigenous wherever it is found.

The signs which Dr. Olrik considers of undoubted heathen origin are the swallowing of the sun by the wolf Fenri ; the great winter (*fimbul-vetr*) ; the sinking of the earth into the sea ; the serpent bound in the sea ; the last fight of the gods and the fall of Odin ; the fire of Surt. To take one example only : the sun-devouring monster is common to the beliefs of many races. Dr. Olrik instances the dragon in Asia, the dog among the North American Indians, and the wolf of various European races. There can be no doubt whatever that we have here an example of a common myth grown from a common ritual connected with the eclipse. The savage mind, having no idea of causation in natural phenomena, is impressed with a fear that his efforts to help the sun in its struggle with the devourer may one day be unavailing. The great winter, for which Dr. Olrik finds a parallel in Persian mythology, is closely connected with the loss of the sun. The chained monster, whether wolf, snake, or man, is found among various races, notably Persians, Tartars, and Finns, and the very fact that all three are found in Norse mythology discredits the theory that the chained Satan of the Mediæval Church is responsible for the bound Loki of the Edda.

Dr. Olrik attributes to Christian influence, among other features, the breaking loose of Loki and the coming of Balder (to both of which he assigns, however, an early date) ; and the burning of the world and the coming of the Mighty One, which occur only in *Voluspá*. In the case of the two latter points there is little doubt

that he is right ; but there seems to be no reason for questioning the pagan origin of Loki's share in the fall of the Gods. Like Prometheus an elemental spirit, he serves the Gods for a time ; like Prometheus bound because of his real hostility, his share in their fall is foreknown, and he is chief agent and an essential part of the myth. The return of Balder is a different question. He has indeed no real connexion with Ragnarok, nor, in all probability, with the Viking religion. There is no evidence of any worship paid to him in any heathen saga, as to Odin, Thor, and Frey. They were the living Gods of the Viking age, the Gods whose fall was doomed ; Balder was but a survival, and his return when the earth rises again from the deep is probably literary invention.

L. WINIFRED FARADAY.

THE SHAIKHS OF MOROCCO IN THE XVIITH CENTURY. By T. H. Weir, B.D., M.R.A.S. Edinburgh : G. A. Morton. 1904.

To students of Muslim hagiology this book will be of considerable interest. It consists of a series of gossiping memoirs of a number of saints of the Sūfi school, mainly derived from the writings of Ibn Askar, who died in 1578. Mr. Weir calls him "a Moorish Boswell, or Jocelin of Brakelond, credulous and conscientious, and not hesitating to exalt his heroes at his own expense." This Moroccan *Acta Sanctorum* contains some curious folklore, and much quaint discussion, in a humorous vein, of Musalmān theological questions.

These saints deal largely in miracles. When locusts and sparrows attacked a village, the people would write to the Shaikh Ghazwāni requesting their removal, and would fasten the letter upon a stick set up in the field, which immediately had the desired effect. When the Shaikh Abdallah was offended and decided to leave his village, all his doves accompanied him, and the people, in dismay, followed and begged him to return. Once a Jinni carried off the daughter of a poor man. He complained

to the Shaikh Ali Hamāmūsh, who appealed to the king of the Jinn. The monarch ordered his follower to be crucified. When the girl's father passed the spot, he found what looked like a dark-green beetle hanging upon a splinter of wood. The weird tale of Shaikh Ahmad tells how he used to wander about at night. Once a disciple followed him, and suddenly found himself in an unknown land. He confessed his error, and his eyes were opened, and he found himself close beside the city from which he started. Another saint, Abu Bakr, would go to the mosque to say the Friday prayer, and leave a wolf in charge of his sheep and goats.

A blot on a book otherwise valuable is the eccentric transliteration of the Arabic terms. Aisha stands for Ayesha. We have Muhammad and other names correctly transliterated side by side with Aboo Bekr ; Karaweeyen for Karuiin, and so on.

W. CROOKE.

INDIAN FOLKLORE. By GANESHJI JETHABHAI. Limbdi, 1903.

THIS book, with its pretentious title and a statement on the title page that it is the first edition, seems to be an English translation of a Gujarati school book. For its original purpose it may be useful, but in its present form, with the additional drawbacks of bad English and worse printing, it is of little value. It purports to be a collection of Indian "legendary lore, which is particularly wide and varied, and presents us with a vivid picture of the actions, projects, thoughts, follies, and virtues of the human race." This the present sample certainly fails to provide. It consists of a series of short tales, some fairly witty and amusing. The author, however, violates all the canons of folktale collection. He gives no account of the manner in which he obtained the tales, by whom they were told, by whom they were collected. He gives no notes on custom, and, needless to say, no references to parallels. For scientific purposes the book is thus entirely valueless.

W. CROOKE.

STEREOSCOPIC VIEW OF WEST AUSTRALIAN MASK.

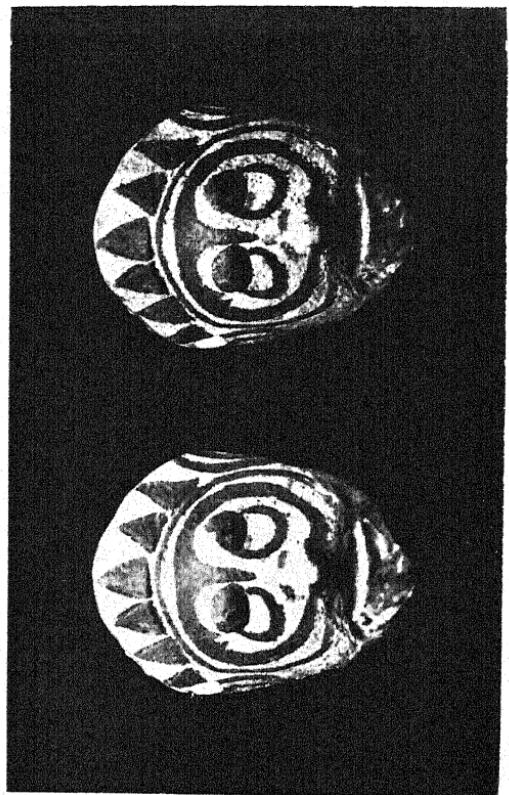
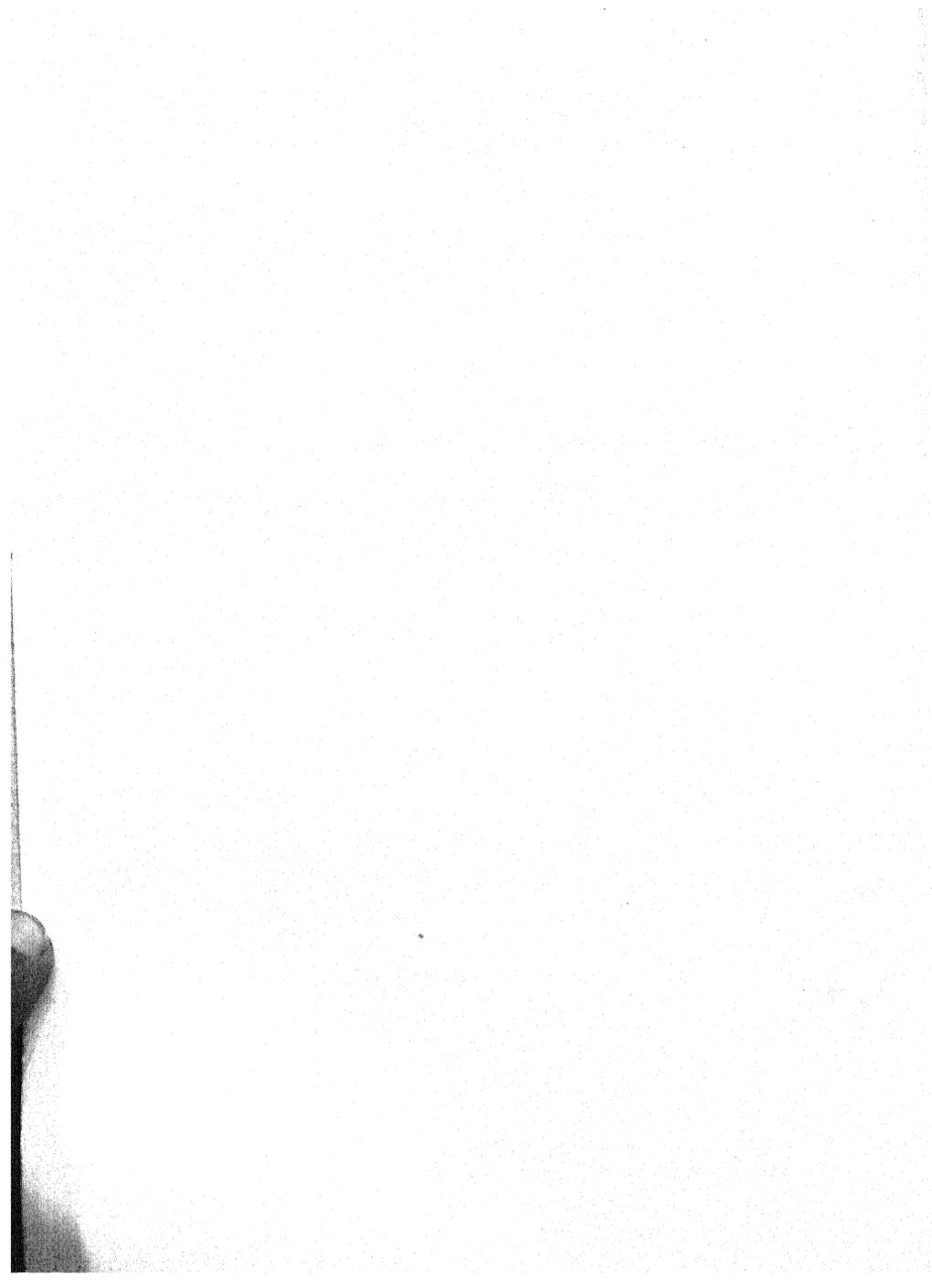


PLATE VIII.

(FIG. 10 IN PLATE XV., VOL. XIV.)



Folk=Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

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[No. IV.

THE EUROPEAN SKY-GOD.

II.

BY ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

THE primitive Greek king, as I showed in my last paper,¹ was the human representative of the sky-god Zeus, and in that capacity was not only called by his name but also believed to act as his vice-gerent. Thus he was expected to control the sun and to feed its flames, partly by kindling periodic bonfires on a mountain-top, partly by maintaining a perpetual fire on his own hearth. Again, he was rain-maker for the district, and could, when he so desired, evoke a sudden thunder-storm. Further, he was responsible for the crops, and to him all eyes turned as often as the fruits of the earth were injured by drought or blight.

It must not, of course, be supposed that these were the sole obligations of the king. The accepted classification of his functions is that propounded by Aristotle,² who saw

¹ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 299 ff.

² Aristot. *pol.*, 3. 14. 1285 b. 22, *στρατηγός τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ δικαιοτῆς δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος*, *ib.*, 1285 b. 9, *κύριοι δὲ ἡσαν τῆς τε κατά*

in him at once a general, a judge, and a priest. It is, however, probable that we ought to invert the Aristotelian order and to regard the early king as primarily a religious personage,³ secondarily charged with judicial and military duties. Indeed, it would appear that his office as judge, if not also his office as general, was a direct consequence of his office as the accredited representative of Zeus. He was judge, that is to say, because he spoke with the voice and authority of Zeus.⁴ In the *Iliad* Nestor addresses Agamemnon as follows: "Most glorious son of Atreus, Agamemnon king of men, with thy name will I end, and in thine begin,⁵ for that thou art king of many peoples, and in the hollow of thy hand hath Zeus placed a sceptre and judgments to the end that thou mayest decide for them. Therefore more than others must thou speak thy thought and hearken, yea and fulfil even another man's advice, whensoever his mind biddeth him speak for good; for whatever any doth begin will hinge on thee."⁶ Note that

πόλεμον ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ὅσαι μὴ ιερατικαί, καὶ πρὸς τούτους τὰς δίκας ἔκρινον; cp. a fragment of Diogenes περὶ βασιλείας, a Pythagorean treatise, cited by Stobaeus in his *Florilegium*, 48. 61, ἔργα δὲ βασιλέως τρία τῷ τε στρατηγὲν καὶ δικαιοπολὲν καὶ θεραπεύεν θεώς ὥστε ἀνάγκα τὸν τέλειον βασιλέα στραταγόν τε ἀγαθὸν ἡμεν καὶ δικαιοτῆν καὶ ιερέα.

³ Aristotle was perhaps himself aware of this: cp. *pol.*, 7. 8. 1322 b. 26, ἔχομέν δὲ ταῦτης (sc. τῆς ἐπιμελείας) ἡ πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἀφωρισμένη τὰς κοινὰς πάσας, ὅσας μὴ τοῖς ιερεῦσιν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας ἔχουσι τὴν τιμήν · καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις.

⁴ Hes., *O.D.*, 36, ἀ *propos* of the award of the local "kings," desires "straight decisions, which are the best that Zeus giveth," and Call., *hymn. Iov.*, 79 ff. Wilamowitz, writes: "From Zeus come kings. Nothing upon earth is more divine than kings. Therefore hast thou chosen them as thy portion. Thou hast given them cities to guard: yea thou satest thyself in citadels, watching them that governed their folk with crooked decisions and them that were upright."

⁵ Dr. W. Leaf *ad loc.* justly observes: "Nestor begins his speech in the usual style of an appeal to a god; because a king is the representative of Zeus. So "A te principium, tibi desinet," Verg. *Ecl.*, viii., ii."

⁶ *Il.*, 9. 96 ff.

Agamemnon as judge⁷ bears the sceptre of Zeus. This was an oaken staff or spear (*δόρυν*) of peculiar sanctity, as we gather from the account of it given by Pausanias:⁸ “The god whom the Chæroneans honour most is the sceptre which Homer says Hephaestus made for Zeus, and Zeus gave to Hermes, and Hermes to Pelops, and Pelops bequeathed to Atreus, and Atreus to Thyestes, from whom Agamemnon had it. This sceptre they worship, naming it a spear; and that there is something divine about it is proved especially by the distinction it confers on its owners. . . . There is no public temple built for it, but the man who acts as priest keeps the sceptre in his house for the year; and sacrifices are offered to it daily, and a table is set beside it covered with all sorts of flesh and cakes.” Now C. Bötticher⁹ has proved from this and analogous usages elsewhere that a tree-god was often represented by a sceptre, or lance, or staff. It may be regarded as certain, therefore, that the royal sceptre, which conferred the right of judgment, was simply a conventionalised form of the oak of Zeus:¹⁰ hence both in literature

⁷ Cp. Eustath., 25, 5, σημεῖον δὲ βασιλείας καὶ λόγων καὶ δίκης κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς τὸ σκῆπτρον ἦν. ‘Αγαμέμνων τε γάρ ὁ εὐρυκρέινων ἴσταται σκῆπτρον ἔχων, καὶ Τηλεμάχῳ δημηγορῶντι ὀδύσσαι τις σκῆπτρον ὡσαντῶς καὶ Ἀχιλλένς δημηγορῶν σκῆπτρον ἔχει. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἀδικθεῖεις κατ’ αὐτοῦ ὅμνυσιν ὡς συμβόλου τῆς δίκης, 1158, 1, καὶ σκῆπτρα δὲ οὐ μόνον βασιλεῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ δικασπόλοις. ἔστι γάρ τὸ σκῆπτρον οὐ μόνον βασιλείας ἀλλὰ καὶ θεμιδος σύμβολον. In II., 9. 155 f. Agamemnon promises that the people shall honour Achilles “with offerings like a god, and beneath his sceptre shall fulfil his bright judgments.” Od., II. 568 f., describes “Minos, the brilliant son of Zeus,” as “holding a golden sceptre and passing judgment on the dead.” In Ap. Rhod., 4. 1176 ff., Alcinous “held in his hand the golden sceptre of justice, whereby many a man in the town had righteous judgment given him.”

⁸ Paus., 9. 40. 11 ff., Frazer.

⁹ Bötticher, *Der Baunkultus der Hellenen*, pp. 232-240.

¹⁰ This explains the vision of Clytemnestra in Soph. *El.*, 417 ff., Jebb: “Tis said that she beheld our sire (Agamemnon), restored to the sunlight, at her side once more; then he took the sceptre—once his own, but now borne by Aegisthus—and planted it at the hearth; and thence a fruitful bough sprang upward, wherewith the whole land of Mycenæ was overshadowed.”

and in art¹¹ it was sometimes surmounted by an eagle, the bird of Zeus. When the Homeric chiefs were assembled, he and he only might declare his opinion to whom the herald had handed the sceptre.¹² Very significant is the language used of it by Achilles : " But I will speak out to thee and therewith swear a mighty oath. Yea, by this sceptre, which shall never put forth leaves and branches, having once left its cloven stock upon the mountains, no, nor flourish again ; for the bronze hath trimmed its leaves and bark round about, and now the sons of the Achæans bear it in their hands, even they that exercise justice, who guard the judgments given by Zeus. Hereby will I swear thee a mighty oath."¹³ Even in the Periclean age it was still the custom for the Athenian archon to assign the numerous judges to their respective courts by means of acorns (*βάλανοι*) and staves (*βακτηρίαι*), of which the former were marked with various letters, the latter with various colours.¹⁴ Have we not here a survival of the sacred oak which, as the oracular tree of Zeus, conferred juridical rights on the Pelasgian king ?

It would seem that as general too the king stood in some special relation to Zeus. This comes out most clearly in the case of the Spartan kings, who were priests of Zeus Λακεδαλμῶν and Zeus Οὐράνιος¹⁵. Before starting on a military expedition they sacrificed to Zeus Ἀγήτωρ, Zeus

¹¹ An eagle was perched on the sceptre not only of Zeus (Pind. *Pyth.*, 1. 6, Paus., 5. II. 1, 8. 31. 4; cp. the golden eagles on the pillars of Zeus Λυκαῖος, ib., 8. 38. 7), but also of common kings (Aristoph. *av.*, 509 ff., with schol. *ad loc.*, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, ii., 903 f., fig. 980). For Roman parallels see Juv., 10. 43, and Mayor's *n.* Gold coins of Coso, king of Thrace, struck in 42 B.C., show an eagle holding a wreath with one claw and a sceptre with the other (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Thrace, &c., p. 208).

¹² *Il.*, 18. 505, 23. 567 f., *Od.*, 2. 37 f.

¹³ *Il.*, 1. 233 ff.

¹⁴ Aristot. *de rep. Ath.*, 63. 2 ff., G. Gilbert, *The Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens*, p. 397 ff.

¹⁵ Hdt., 6. 56.

"the Leader"; and perpetual fire from his altar was carried along with them by an official called the fire-bearer.¹⁶ On reaching the frontier they sacrificed again to Zeus and Athena; and from this sacrifice, too, perpetual fire was borne before them, while victims of all sorts followed after.¹⁷ Similarly the kings of Epirus used to sacrifice to Zeus "Apeios, Zeus "the Warlike," at Passaron in the territory of Molottis,¹⁸ as Oenomaus king of Pisa had done in mythical times.¹⁹ During the fight the king might be armed with the spear that symbolised his god:²⁰ at least, Parthenopaeus of Arcadia, who seems to have boasted that he was the son of Zeus, "swears by the spear that he holds, trusting it more than a god for sacredness and better than sight."²¹ If Zeus "the dispenser of war"²² favoured him and he proved successful against the foe, he²³ would erect a trophy, *i.e.*, an oak-tree²⁴ lopped of its branches and covered with votive armour. This oaken trunk was regarded as a rough statue of Zeus *Tροπαῖος*, Zeus "the god of Rout."²⁵ It appears, then, that various duties towards

¹⁶ Xen. *de rep. Lac.*, 13. 2; Nicol. Dam., *περὶ ἑθῶν ἀρ.* Stob. *serm.* 44, p. 294 (p. 156 Orell., 278 Cor.) cited by Steph. *Thesaurus s.v. ἀγήτωρ*: ὅταν δὲ στρατεύωνται ἔξω χώρας, πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἀγήτορος Διός ἐνανσάμενος [δέ] πυρφόρος λεγόμενος σύνεστι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀσβεστον αὐτὸν τηρῶν.

¹⁷ Xen. *de rep. Lac.*, 13. 3, cp. Hdt., 6. 56.

¹⁸ Plut. *vit. Pyrrh.*, 5.

¹⁹ Paus., 5. 14. 6.

²⁰ *Supra*, p. 371.

²¹ Aesch., *sept. c. Theb.*, 529 f., with Verrall's *n.*

²² *Il.*, 19. 224.

²³ So Eur. *Phan.*, 571 ff., 1250 f., of Polynices; Paus., 9. 40. 8 of Caranus; &c.

²⁴ Cp. Verg. *Aen.*, II. 5. ff., ingentem querum, decisis undique ramis, | constituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma, | Mezenti ducis exuvias, tibi, magne, tropaeum, | Bellipotens, and *Class. Rev.*, xviii. 364 f.

²⁵ Eur. *Herac.*, 936 f. "Υλλος μὲν οὖν ὁ τ' ἐσθόλος Ἰλεως βρέτας | Διὸς τροπαῖον καλλίνικον ἵστασαν, *Phan.* 1250 f. Πολύνεκτος, ἐν τοι Ζηνὸς ὄρθωσαι βρέτας | τροπαῖον, 1472 f. ὡς δὲ ἐνικῶμεν μάχῃ | οἱ μὲν Διὸς τροπαῖον

Zeus devolved upon the king as military leader. Possibly he owed his position at the head of the army to this very fact. If so, we may subscribe to the opinion long since put forward by Fr. Creuzer,²⁶ viz.: that Zeus was the source of every honour enjoyed by the king. The ancients in any case did well to personify Kingship as the daughter of Zeus.²⁷

The duties of the king as representative of Zeus could be satisfactorily discharged only by a man who was perfect and without blemish, by a man—that is—in the prime of life suffering from no defect of body or mind. The kings of the heroic age were in fact conspicuous for their physical powers. Achilles, for example, is known to fame as “ swift of foot,” Hector as “ tamer of horses,” Diomedes and Menelaus as “ good at the war-cry.” Moreover, it was well understood that the decay of bodily strength would involve a corresponding loss of authority. Hence the anxiety with which Achilles in the under-world asks about his father’s health: “ Tell me of Peleus free from blemish²⁸ (*ἀμύμονος*), if aught thou hast heard, whether he still keepeth his

ἱστασαν βρέτας, suppl. 647 f., πῶς γὰρ τροπαῖα Ζηνὸς Αἰγέως τόκος | ἔστησεν οἵ τε συμμετασχόντες δόρος ; On the cult of Zeus *Tropaios* at Sparta and in Salamis see Preller-Robert, p. 140, n. 3; and on that of Zeus *Tropaiouχος* in Pamphylia, Farnell, *Cults*, i. 164.

²⁶ Creuzer, *Symbolik*, iii., 108, “ Als König ist er auch *Urgquelle von allen Königsrechten*,” quoting Aesch. *Ag.*, 42 ff., &c.

²⁷ Schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1536, *Εὐφόρονος, ὅτι Δῶς θυγάτηρ ἡ Βασιλεία.*

²⁸ This I take to be the meaning of *ἀμύμων*, “ blameless,” an epithet used in the Homeric poems of kings who were by no means “ blameless ” from a moral point of view (see Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum*, s. v. *ἀμύμων*). If the word was originally, as I suppose, a ceremonial term applicable to the priestly king, fresh significance is given to Odysseus’ speech in *Od.*, 19. 109 ff.: “ Even as a king without blemish, who ruleth god-fearing over many mighty men and maintaineth justice, while the black earth beareth wheat and barley, and the trees are laden with fruit, and the flocks bring forth without fail, and the sea yieldeth her fish by reason of his good rule, and the folk prosper beneath him.” The king who is *ἀμύμων* has a flourishing kingdom : the king who is maimed (see the oracle cited on page 375) has a kingdom diseased like himself.

honour among the many Myrmidores, or whether they now dishonour him through Hellas and Phthia because old age hath come upon his hands and feet.”²⁹ In historical times the Spartans were warned by the Delphic Apollo to “beware of a lame reign.”³⁰ The oracle ran as follows:³¹

Sparta, for all thy pomp and pride beware,
Lest sound of foot thou have a halting reign :
Then shall disease unlooked for hold thee long
And rolling waves of man-consuming war.

How Diopeithes pressed these lines against the claims of the lame Agesilaus, while Lysander insisted that they were an allegorical condemnation of the bastard Leotychides, is matter of common knowledge. It is also on record³² that Archidamus, the father of Agesilaus, was fined by the ephors for having married too short a wife: “‘for,’ said they, ‘she will bear us not kings but kinglets.’” At Athens the last of the regular kings was Codrus; and Pausanias³³ à propos of his successor mentions an instructive incident. “Medon and Nileus, the eldest of the sons of Codrus, quarrelled about the sovereignty, and Nileus declared that he would not endure to be ruled by Medon, because Medon was lame of one leg. They agreed to refer the question to the Delphic oracle, and the Pythian priestess gave the kingdom of Athens to Medon. So Nileus and the rest of the sons of Codrus set out to found a colony.”³⁴ In course of time the duties of the Athenian king as priest, general, and judge passed into the hands of the priestly king (*βασιλεύς*), the war-leader (*πολέμαρχος*), and the

²⁹ *Od.*, II. 494 ff.

³⁰ Xen. *Hellen.*, 3. 3. 3.

³¹ Plut. *vit. Ages.* 3, *vit. Lys.* 22, Paus., 3. 8. 9. The first of these sources reads “diseases” (*νοῆσοι*) in the third line; the other two have “troubles” (*μόχθοι*).

³² Theophrastus *ap.* Plut. *vit. Ages.*, 2.

³³ Paus., 7. 2. 1, Frazer.

³⁴ See further *infra*, p. 396 ff.

governor (*ἀρχων*), who were assisted in their administration by a board of six inferior magistrates (*θεσμοθέται*). But it is noteworthy that all these officials, like the king before them, had to be men “without blemish” (*όλόκληροι*).³⁵ And that this was not merely a matter of decency or decorum, but rather a religious requirement, is made probable by the fact that the victims³⁶ offered to the gods and the priests³⁷ who served them had likewise to be “without blemish,” and are described by the same term (*όλόκληρος*).

The community in early days had a simple method of securing the best man for the post of king. The king reigned till a stronger than he arose and slew him. This primitive rule may be traced in several of the Greek myths. Philostratus³⁸ describes how the Phlegyæ chose Phorbas as their king “because he was the biggest and most ferocious man in the tribe.” He dwelt apart under an oak-tree, which was regarded as his palace (*βασίλεια*); and the Phlegyæ resorted to him for judgment. This oak grew on the road to Delphi, and Phorbas terrorised the Delphic pilgrims.³⁹ Old men and children he sent on to the

³⁵ Phot. s. v. *όλόκληρος* · οἱ ἀρχοντες ἀδοκιμάζοντο εἰς ὄλόκληροι εἰσίν · Μένανδρος Θετταλῶ (Meineke, *frag. com. Gr.*, iv., 134), “όλόκληρος οὐτός σοι ξένε.”

³⁶ Poll., I. 29, τὰ δὲ προσακτέα θύματα ιερεῖα ἄρτια, ἄπομα, ὄλόκληρα, ὑγιῆ, ἄπηρα, παμμελῆ, ἀρτιμελῆ, μὴ κωλοβά μηδὲ ἔμπηρα μηδὲ ἡρωτηριασμένα μηδὲ διάστροφα. Σόλων δὲ τὰ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀφελῆ ὡνόμασε, Plut. *de def. or.*, 49, δεῖ γάρ τὸ θύμουν τῷ τε σώματι καὶ τῷ ψυχῇ καθαρὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀσωτὲς καὶ ἀδιάφθοροι, cp. [Plat.] *Alcib.* ii., 149 A, *Theocr.* 4. 20 ff., *alibi*.

³⁷ Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscr. Gr.*, 594, 9 f., ἀνείσθω δὲ ὃς [καὶ ἢ ὅλ]όνταρος (sc. the priesthood of Asclepius at Chalcedon), 598, 8 f., ἀ δὲ πριαμένα ἐστοι ὑγιῆς καὶ ὅλ[δ]εκλα[ρος] (sc. the office of priestess to Dionysus Θυλλοφόρος in Cos), cp. Plat. *Iegg.*, 759 C., δοκιμάζειν δὲ τὸν δεῖ λαγχάνοντα πρῶτον μὲν ὄλόκληρον καὶ γρήσιον, κ.τ.λ. See also W. Warde Fowler in Smith-Wayne-Marindin, *Dict. Ant.*, ii., 569 f.

³⁸ Philostrat. *imagg.*, 2. 19.

³⁹ Cp. Ov. *met.*, ii., 413 f.

Phlegyæ, who plundered them and held them to ransom. Wayfarers in the prime of life he challenged to an athletic contest, wrestling or running or the pancratium or quoit-throwing : and, having vanquished them, he cut off their heads and hung them on his oak, where they swung dripping in the wind—a ghastly sight. When he prided himself on the result of these Olympic sports (*ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσι ταύταις*), Apollo took upon him the form of a youthful boxer and smote the ogre to the ground, while a thunderbolt from the sky blasted his oak. The place where it stood was called the Oak-Heads (*Δρυὸς κεφαλαῖ*). From Herodotus⁴⁰ and Thucydides⁴¹ we gather that it was a pass of Mt. Cithæron on the way from Athens to Platæa, and that the Boeotians named it the Three Heads (*Τρεῖς κεφαλαῖ*). The same story was told by the cyclic poets, who laid stress on the pride of Phorbas: “By reason of his overweening conceit he was minded to pose as the peer of the gods themselves ; wherefore Apollo drew near and, standing up to him, slew him.”⁴²

There can, I think, be little doubt that Phorbas was a king who personated an oak-god⁴³ and, in accordance with the primitive rule, defended his title against all comers. A somewhat similar figure is Cycnus, son of Ares, who established himself in Thessaly and waylaid travellers on the road from Tempe to Thermopylæ. With their skulls he was building a temple to Apollo, when Heracles, whom he challenged to a single combat, shot him.⁴⁴ He was

⁴⁰ Hdt., 9. 39.

⁴¹ Thuc., 3. 24.

⁴² Schol. *Il.*, 23. 660.

⁴³ If this Phorbas is to be identified with Phorbas the rival of Apollo (*hymn. Hom.*, 3. 211), he was the son of Triopas (*ib.*, Paus., 7. 26. 12, Hyg. *poet astr.*, 2. 14) and therefore a representative of the three-eyed Pelasgian Zeus (*Folk-Lore*, xv., 288 f.).

⁴⁴ Schol. Pind. *Ol.*, 2. 147, 10. 19, Eur. *Herc. fur.*, 389 ff., Paus. 1. 27. 6, *alib.*

buried by his father-in-law Ceyx,⁴⁵ the human Zeus.⁴⁶ But Apollo caused the river Anaurus to swell with much rain and sweep away the tomb, because Cycnus used to rob men who brought hecatombs to Delphi.⁴⁷ Ares, angered at his death, attacked Heracles, and Zeus parted the combatants by hurling a thunderbolt between them.⁴⁸ Cercyon of Eleusis was another example of a king whose rule rested on personal prowess. He forced all strangers to wrestle with him and slew them, when they were thrown, till at last he was himself thrown by Theseus.⁴⁹ Antaeus, a gigantic Libyan king, likewise forced all strangers to wrestle with him, and killed them when thrown. With their skulls he, like Cycnus, built a temple to his father Poseidon. In the end Heracles met him on his own ground and slew him.⁵⁰ His grave was shown at Tingis in Mauretania; and we are told that, whenever a hole was made in it, rain fell till the hole was filled up again.⁵¹ Amycus king of the Bebryces compelled all strangers to box with him, and thus killed many of them before he was himself beaten and killed by Polydeuces:⁵² so pugnacious was he that whoever held a branch of the great laurel-tree called the Mad Laurel, which grew on his grave, broke out at once into abusive language.⁵³ Another test of physical endurance

⁴⁵ Hes. *sc.*, 354 ff., 472.

⁴⁶ *Folk-Lore* xv., 300.

⁴⁷ Hes. *sc.*, 477 ff.

⁴⁸ Apollod., 2. 5. 11, Hyg. *fab.*, 31.

⁴⁹ Paus., I. 39. 3, Plut. *vit. Thes.*, II, Diod., 4. 59, Suid. *s. v.* Κερκυών. On Greek vases his name is sometimes Κερκυνανέος (P. Kretschmer, *die griechischen Vaseninschriften*, pp. 203, 238); this, compared with *Corp. inscr. Att.*, 3. 1203, ἵερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος Κερκυνονέως, suggests that Cercyon was a priestly king. Evidence of an oak-cult at Eleusis is given in *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 84.

⁵⁰ Pind. *Isthm.*, 3 (4). 70 ff., Plat. *Theat.* 169 B, Apollod. 2. 5. 11, Diod., 4. 7. 27, Hyg. *fab.*, 31.

⁵¹ Mela, 3. 106. This tradition points to the Libyan king as rain-maker.

⁵² Ap. Rhod. 2. 1 ff., Apollod. 1. 9. 20, *alib.*

⁵³ Apollodorus *ap. schol.* Ap. Rhod. 2. 159, Plin. *nat. hist.*, 16. 239: see further C. Müller, *frag. hist. Gr.*, iv., 304, and Oberhummer in Pauly-Wissowa, iii., 753.

appears in the myth of Lityenses: this son of Midas, king of Phrygia, used to challenge people to a reaping-match with him and beat them if they were worsted; but one day he fell in with a stronger reaper and was himself put to death.⁵⁴

The foregoing tales do not actually state that the victor became king in the room of the vanquished. But it is noticeable that in these and other similar stories the victor may take the wife, or more often the daughter, of the vanquished to be his wife, and that sometimes at least he receives the kingdom along with her. Theseus, after he had slain Cercyon, gave the kingdom (which must therefore have been *his* by right of conquest) to Hippothous, whom Cercyon's daughter Alope had born to Poseidon,⁵⁵ but himself consorted with Alope.⁵⁶ So Heracles, when he had thrown Antæus, had intercourse with his wife Iphinoe⁵⁷ or Tinge,⁵⁸ whose son Sophax became king of the country. According to Pindar,⁵⁹ Antæus had a fair daughter—Alceis or Barce, the scholiast⁶⁰ calls her—who was wooed by many of her kinsmen and by many strangers too. “But her father gained for his daughter a marriage more glorious still. Now he had heard how sometime Danaos⁶¹ at Argos devised for his forty and eight maiden daughters, ere mid-day was upon them, a wedding of utmost speed—for he straightway set the whole company at the race-course end, and bade determine by a foot-race which maiden each hero should have, of all the suitors that

⁵⁴ Poll., 4. 54. Other versions of the tale are discussed by O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex.*, ii., 2065 ff., Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² ii., 224 ff., 248 ff.

⁵⁵ Hyg. *fab.*, 187.

⁵⁶ Plut. *vit. Thes.*, 29, Ister and Pherecydes *ap.* Athen., 557 A f.

⁵⁷ Pherecydes *ap.* Tzetz. in *Lyc. Alex.*, 663, and *Etym. magn.*, 679, 49 ff.

⁵⁸ Plut. *vit. Sertor.*, 9.

⁵⁹ Pind. *Pyth.*, 9. 181 ff., E. Myers.

⁶⁰ Schol. Pind. *Pyth.*, 9. 183.

⁶¹ The story is told by Paus., 3. 12. 2.

had come. Even on this wise gave the Libyan a bridegroom to his daughter, and joined the twain. At the line he set the damsel, having arrayed her splendidly, to be the goal and prize, and proclaimed in the midst that he should lead her thence to be his bride who, dashing to the front, should first touch the robes she wore. Thereon Alexidamos, when that he had sped through the swift course, took by her hand the noble maiden, and led her through the troops of Nomad horsemen. Many the leaves and wreaths they showered on him; yea and of former days many plumes of victories had he won." Similarly tradition said "that Icarius set the wooers of Penelope to run a race."⁶² Odysseus won it, and so gained his bride. The Bœotian Atalanta, daughter of Schœneus, was awarded by her father to the man who should outstrip her in a footrace. The wooer was to run without weapons; Atalanta would follow with a spear, and if she caught him before the goal would slay him and fix his head on the racecourse. When she had vanquished and slain many suitors, she was at last outrun by Hippomenes, who dropped the famous golden apples in her path and so delayed her.⁶³

How tales of this type are related to tales that represent the king as himself challenging all comers, appears from the legend of Sithon.⁶⁴ This king of the Thracian Odomanti was the son of Poseidon (or Ares⁶⁵). When his daughter Pallene was wooed by many from far and wide, he bade each suitor fight him for the girl, on condition that if he were unsuccessful he should be put to death, but if successful he should receive not only his bride but the kingdom also. On these terms he defeated and put to death Merops, king of Anthemus, Periphetes, king of

⁶² Paus., 3. 12. 1

⁶³ Hyg. *fab.*, 185, cp. Apollod., 3. 9. 2. See further Escher in Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 1890 ff.

⁶⁴ Conon *narr.*, 10, Parthen. *narr. am.*, 6.

⁶⁵ Tzetz. in Lyc. *Alex.*, 583, 1161.

Mygdonia, and many others. At length, when he was not so strong as he used to be, he changed his rule and ordained that in future the suitors should contend with each other, not with him,—the penalty and the prize to be as before. Hereupon two suitors presented themselves, Dryas⁶⁶ and Clitus. Pallene herself favoured Clitus; and an old servitor of hers induced the charioteer of Dryas to remove the linch-pins of his master's chariot before the fray. Consequently, when Dryas drove against Clitus, his wheels came off: he fell, and was run over and killed by Clitus. Sithon, on realising his daughter's deceit, built a huge funeral pyre for Dryas, and was minded to slay Pallene upon it. But, according to one account,⁶⁷ Aphrodite appeared by night to all the townsfolk, and so rescued the maiden; according to another,⁶⁸ some portent and a sudden downfall of rain made Sithon change his mind. Anyhow, he prepared a wedding-feast for the Thracians who were present, and bestowed Pallene upon Clitus. At Sithon's death they succeeded to his kingdom. Nonnus⁶⁹ makes Dionysus demand Pallene of Sithon, who bids him wrestle with her. He is victorious and claims his prize; but, shocked at the skulls of the suitors with which the palace is adorned, slays the impious Sithon with a blow of his thyrsus. This version of the myth is probably later than the other: but in any case the whole tale furnishes a doublet to that of Oenomaus. The latter is thus told in the *Epitome of Apollodorus*.⁷⁰ Oenomaus, king of Pisa, had a daughter Hippodamia, for whose hand he instituted a contest on the following terms. The suitor was to take Hippodamia on his chariot and flee to the Isthmus of Corinth. Oenomaus, clad in armour and

⁶⁶ The name is appropriate: it was natural for the “Oak”-man ($\Deltaρύας$) to claim the kingdom. See *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 80 ff.

⁶⁷ Conon *narr.*, 10.

⁶⁸ Parthen. *narr. am.*, 6.

⁶⁹ Nonn. *Dion.*, 48. 90—237.

⁷⁰ *Apollod. epit.* 2. 4 ff., cp. Diod., 4. 73, Eustath., 183, 15 ff., Hyg. *fab.*, 84, *alib.*

mounted on the car of Ares, would (after sacrificing a ram to Zeus⁷¹) go in pursuit and, if he caught them, would slay him. In this way he slew a dozen or more suitors, and nailed their heads to his house.⁷² When Pelops came to try his luck, Hippodamia fell in love with him and persuaded Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaus, not to insert the lynch-pins of his master's car. Oenomaus was thrown and, being entangled in the reins, was dragged along and killed or, according to others, was despatched by Pelops, who thereby won his bride and became king of Pisa. Now we may be very sure that romantic attachment, which in Alexandrine times—if not earlier—became the principal feature in these folk-tales, had originally nothing to do with them. If the young hero married the old king's daughter, it was merely in order to confirm his claim to the throne by obtaining a native sanction, so to speak, for the foreign successor.^{72a} The myths of Sithon and Oenomaus contain at least a hint of the real motive. The adventurer might gain the kingdom by a display of personal prowess. That was his object from first to last; and tales of the bride-race, no less than tales of the king's challenge to all strangers, presuppose the primitive rule that the king must be the strongest man of the district.

Another constant element in these stories is the death-penalty affixed to the would-be king who cannot beat his opponent in the fight or wrestling-match or race. This again takes us back to primitive times, when the king who

⁷¹ Diod., 4. 73. See further the vase-paintings figured and discussed in *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 271 f.

⁷² Schol. rec. Pind. *Ol.*, I. 114, states that Oenomaus was constructing a temple to Ares with the skulls of the suitors. This is supported by Tzetz. in *Lyc. Alex.*, 159; but may be a trait borrowed from the myth of Cycnus (*supra*, p. 377) or from that of Antaeus (*ib.*).

^{72a} Dr. Frazer tells me that he has investigated at some length the question of the succession to the kingdom in classical antiquity and is about to publish his results in the forthcoming third edition of the *Golden Bough*.

was unequal to his duties used to be slain without mercy. Since old age is inevitable, it would appear that in remote times all priestly kings or human Zeuses must have been doomed to die a violent death. That this, however improbable it sounds to modern ears, was actually the case, is one of the main conclusions reached by Dr. Frazer in his *Golden Bough*.⁷³ He shows by a multitude of examples collected from widely separated lands that it has been the almost universal custom to kill the king as soon as he showed the first signs of advancing age, "in order that the divine spirit, incarnate in him, might be transferred in unabated vigour to his successor."⁷⁴ Of this barbaric custom traces can be detected even on Greek soil. *In primis* I would cite the valuable evidence of Macrobius. That writer is commenting on the passage in which Virgil describes the death of Halæsus:⁷⁵

Halaesus' sire the future feared,
And 'mid the woods his darling reared :
When death had glazed the old man's eyes,
The ruthless Parcae claimed their prize,
Laid their cold finger on his heart,
And marked him for Evander's dart.
Now, poising long his lance in air,
To Tiber Pallas made his prayer :
'Grant, Tiber sire, the spear I throw
Through strong Halaesus' breast may go :
The spoils and armour of the foe
Shall deck thy sacred oak.'
'Tis heard ; and while Halaesus shields
Imao's breast, his own he yields
Unguarded to the stroke.

Virgil, it will be seen, relates the combat between Pallas and Halæsus in language appropriate to the *monomachia* of an ancient oak-king. Macrobius, concerned to prove

/ ⁷³ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² ii., 8 ff.

/ ⁷⁴ *Ib.*, ii., 59.

⁷⁵ Verg. *Aen.*, 10. 417 ff., Conington.

the archæological accuracy of the poet, comments⁷⁶ as follows: "How deeply significant Virgil can be with a single word in dealing with matters of ritual, can be seen from the lines—

'The ruthless Parcae claimed their prize (*sacrarunt*),' &c.

For whatever is destined for the gods is called sacred (*sacrum*) : but the soul cannot reach them unless it be freed from the incumbrance of the body, and this liberation can be effected only through death. Hence he aptly uses the word *sacrare* of Halæsus, who was doomed to die. Indeed in this passage he strictly follows the terminology of laws both human and divine. His phrase 'laid their finger on him' (*iniecere manum*) amounts to a mention of legal emancipation (*mancipium*), while his use of the word *sacrare* satisfies the requirements of religion. And here I may refer to the condition of those men whom the laws would consecrate to particular deities ; for some persons, I know, feel surprised at the rule, which forbids us to injure consecrated things, but bids us put to death a consecrated man. The reason of it is this. The ancients would not allow any consecrated animal to remain within their own boundaries, but drove them into the boundaries of those gods, to whom they were consecrated ; whereas *the souls of consecrated men, whom the Greeks call Zanes, they regarded as owed to the gods.*⁷⁷ So the consecrated thing that could not actually be sent to the gods they did not hesitate to send away from themselves, while the con-

⁷⁶ Macrob. *Sat.*, 3. 7. 3—8.

⁷⁷ Macrob. *Sat.*, 3. 7. 6, *animas vero sacratorum hominum, quos Zanas Græci vocant, dis debitas aestimabant*. The reading is certain (see Jan's *apparatus criticus*) ; and Jan was honest enough to retain it in his text, though he did not see what sense could be made of it. For various attempts to emend the passage see Jan *ad loc.* (c. ἀναθήματα), Cælius Rhodiginus *antiq. lect.*, xii., 11 (Ζόβας = ξέβα !), Liebrecht in *Philologus*, xxii., 710 (c. ζωγάνας, cp. Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² ii., 25 n.).

secrated souls, which they thought they could send to the sky, they would have go there without delay bereft of the body. The custom is discussed by Trebatius in the ninth book of his *Religiones*. I omit what he says, for fear of being tedious. If anyone desires to read it, let him be content with this indication of the author and the reference." Unhappily the works of Trebatius, great jurist though he was and warm friend of Cicero to boot, have perished.⁷⁸ We must be content with what Macrobius tells us, *viz.*: that the consecrated men whom the Greeks called *Zanes*, *i.e.*, Zeuses, were put to death as a sacrifice to the gods. If in the light of this statement we reconsider the examples of kings called Zeus that I have already cited,⁷⁹ it is interesting to observe how frequently they are said to have been slain or metamorphosed by Zeus. Salmoneus, king of Elis, who claimed to be Zeus, was killed by the thunderbolt of Zeus.⁸⁰ Ceyx, whose wife called him Zeus, was changed by Zeus into the sea-bird *ceyx*.⁸¹ Polytechnus, who compared himself to Zeus, was transformed by Zeus into a wood-pecker.⁸² A similar fate overtook Periphas, the early king of Attica. His story, as told by Antoninus Liberalis,⁸³ is worth quoting at length: "Periphas was an Attic autochthon before the days of Cecrops the son of Ge. He became king of the ancient population, and was just and rich and holy, a man who offered many sacrifices to Apollo and judged many disputes and was blamed by no one. All men willingly submitted to his rule and, in view of his surpassing deeds, transferred to him the honours due to Zeus and decided that they belonged to Periphas.⁸⁴ They

⁷⁸ On him see M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, i², 395.

⁷⁹ *Folk-lore*, xv., 300 ff.

⁸⁰ *Ib.*, xv., 300, 312.

⁸¹ *Ib.*, xv., 300.

⁸² Ant. Lib., II.

⁸³ *Ib.*, 6.

⁸⁴ In the suburb Ardettus the Athenian jurors used to swear by Apollo Παρθενος, Demeter, and Zeus Βασιλευς (Poll., 8. 122). The βασιλεύς of

offered sacrifices and built temples to him, and called him Zeus Σωτήρ and Ἐπόψιος and Μειλίχιος. Indignant at this, Zeus wished to consume his whole house with a thunderbolt. But when Apollo, whom Periphias used to honour exceedingly, begged Zeus not to destroy him utterly, Zeus granted the request. He came into the home of Periphias and found him embracing his wife. Grasping them both in his hands, he turned Periphias into an eagle (*αἰετός*) ; his wife, who begged him to make her too a bird to bear Periphias company, into a vulture (*φύνη*). So upon Periphias he bestowed honours in return for his holy life among men, making him king over all the birds, and granting him to guard the sacred sceptre, and to draw near to his own throne ; while Periphias' wife he turned into a vulture, and suffered to appear as a good omen to men in all their doings.” In short, it appears that terrestrial Zeuses were either killed or, more often, metamorphosed into birds by the celestial Zeus. Is not this a trace of the primitive belief that the life of the divine king was forfeit to the god whom he represented ?

The full meaning of these transformations into birds cannot here be investigated.⁸⁵ But I would suggest that

republican Athens, during his year of office, sat in the Royal Colonnade (Paus., 1. 3. 1), which was dedicated to Zeus Βασιλεὺς (Hesych., s. v. βασιλεὺς στοά). Cp. also Cic. *de nat. deor.*, 3. 53, Anactes Athenis, ex rege Iove antiquissimo et Proserpina nati, Tritopatreus, Eubuleus, Dionysus ; and *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 371.

⁸⁵ It would have to be considered in relation to two sets of facts : (a) Certain tribes bearing bird-names claimed descent from an eponymous ancestor. Thus Dryops the “Wood-pecker” (*δρόποι*) was the eponym of the Dryopes or Wood-pecker tribe : see *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 83. Phlegyas the “Eagle” (*φλεγύας*) was the eponym of the Phlegyæ or Eagle tribe. Pelasgus, the eponym of the Pelasgians, may have been a “Stork”: for the word *πελασγός* appears in the Eretrian dialect as *πελαργός* (G. Meyer *Griech. Gram.*,³ p. 307), an extremely archaic myth speaks of *Pelargus* with the variant *Pelasgus* (Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.*, 7. 256), a Delphic oracle called the Pelasgian fortification at the foot of the Athenian Acropolis τὸ Πελαργκόν (Thuc.. 2. 17, cp. Aristoph. *av.*, 832,

such stories, and in particular the myth of Periphas, furnish an important clue to a problem left unsolved by Dr. Frazer, *viz.* the question—How precisely was the soul of the slain king transmitted to his successor?⁸⁶ We have seen more than once that the man-god, instead of dying, was changed by Zeus into a bird (Ceyx the sea-fowl, Polytechnus the wood-pecker, Periphas the eagle) ; and other analogous cases could be quoted. For instance, the tomb of Zeus, *alias* Minos,⁸⁷ in Crete was, according to Suidas,⁸⁸ inscribed—

Ἐνθάδε κεῖται θαυμῶν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς.
“Here lies dead the Wood-pecker, who is also Zeus.”

But indeed it would be tedious to collect all the examples of Zeus transforming kings and heroes into birds of one sort or another. A hexameter poem called *'Ορνιθογονία*, which dealt expressly with such transformations, was written in Alexandrine times and falsely ascribed to Boio an

Callim. *frag.*, 283; Schneider, Strab., 221, 397, Dion Hal. *ant. Rom.*, I. 28. Hesych. *s. v.* Πελαργικόν, *Et. magn.*, 659, 12 ff., *alib.*), and Attic inscriptions of the fifth century B.C. use Πελαργικός for Πελασγικός (K. Meisterhans *Gram. d. Att. Inschr.*,³ p. 83 n. 711, p. 227 n. 1799). (b) The Greeks believed that the soul left the body in the form of a bird : for literary evidence see e.g. the myths of Cæneus (*Ov. met.*, 12. 514 ff.) and Ctesylla (*Ant. Lib.*, 1) ; for monumental evidence, G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel*, and J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 197 ff.

⁸⁶ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² ii., 56, “Of this transmission I have no direct proof ; and so far a link in the chain of evidence is wanting. But if I cannot prove by actual examples this succession to the soul of the slain god, it can at least be made probable that such a succession was supposed to take place.” &c.

⁸⁷ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 304 n. 275 ff.

⁸⁸ Suid. *s. v.* Πῆκος. Cp. the historian Brutius *frag.*, 1, Peter ὁ αὐτὸς Πῆκος δ καὶ Ζεὺς οὖσαν ταύτην (*sc.* Danae) ἐν κονθουκλείψ παρακειμένῳ τῷ θαλάσσῃ πολλῷ χρυσῷ πείσας κ.τ.λ. Creuzer *Symbolik*,³ iv., 364, cites from Nicetas *epithet. deor.* (Creuzer *Meletem.*, i., 18) a description of Jupiter as ἥπιος πῖκος ; and rightly brings him into connection with the Italian Picus, of whom I shall have more to say. See *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 412.

ancient Delphic priestess or, at a later date, to one Boios.⁸⁹ It was one of the sources from which Antoninus Liberalis compiled his *Metamorphoses*, a valuable work preserved to us in a single manuscript at Heidelberg.⁹⁰ The following samples of its contents must suffice. Aegypius the Thessalian was dear to the gods on account of his piety; to men, on account of his nobility and justice. He consorted with a certain widow Timandra, whose son Neophron, disliking it, treated Bulis, the mother of Aegypius, in the same way, and even contrived that Aegypius should lie with Bulis in mistake for Timandra. When the facts were discovered, Bulis caught up a sword and would have blinded her son with it and slain herself, while Aegypius looked towards heaven and prayed that he and all concerned might vanish. Hereupon Zeus changed them into birds. Aegypius became a vulture (*αἰγυπτιός*); Neophron, a smaller vulture of different colour; Bulis, another bird (*πάνγξ*); Timandra, a titmouse (*αἰγιθαλλος*).⁹¹ Again, when Anthus, the son of Autonous and Hippodamia, was devoured by his father's horses,⁹² Zeus and Apollo out of pity for his fate turned the whole family into birds—Autonous into a kind of heron (*ὅκνος*), Hippodamia into a lark (*κορυδός*), Anthus into a bird that imitates the neighing of a horse (*ἀνθός*), his brothers Erodius, Schoeneus, and Acanthus into a heron (*έρωδίος*), a wagtail (*σχοινίλος*), and a linnet or goldfinch (*άκανθίς*), his sister Acanthyllis into a hen-linnet.⁹³ Similarly certain Cretans, who attempted to

⁸⁹ Pauly-Wissowa, iii., 633 f.

⁹⁰ *Ib.*, i., 2572 f.

⁹¹ Ant. Lib., 5, after Boios *ornith.*, 1.

⁹² Cp. the fate of Lycurgus (*Folk-Lore*, xv., 313) and Hippolytus (Frazer *Golden Bough*,² i., 6, ii., 313 ff.); also the man-devouring horses of Diomedes son of Ares (Roscher *Lex.*, i., 1022), and the tradition attaching to Mount Lycaeus in Arcadia (Frazer *Pausanias*, iv., 382).

⁹³ Ant. Lib., 7, after Boios *ornith.*, 1, cp. Aristot. *de hist. an.*, 9. 1. 609 b. 14 f., Ael. *de nat. an.*, 5. 48, 6. 19, Plin. *nat. hist.*, 10. 116.

steal honey from the cave where Zeus was born, were named Laius, Celeus, Cerberus, and Aegolius, and were transformed by Zeus into a blue thrush (*λάιος*), a green wood-pecker (*κελεός*), an unknown species of bird (*κέρβερος*), and an owl (*αιγωλιός*).⁹⁴ Two of these names occur elsewhere as those of kings. Laius was king of Thebes and perhaps passed for a human Zeus.⁹⁵ Celeus was the first king at Eleusis.⁹⁶ Another source used by Antoninus Liberalis was Nicander's *'Ετεροιούμενα*, a didactic epic on changes into animal and plant forms.⁹⁷ From it he borrowed the following tale.⁹⁸ Munichus, son of Dryas, was king and seer of the Molossi. He had by his wife Lelante a son Alcander, who was a better seer than himself, besides two other sons, Megaletor and Philæus, and a daughter Hyperippe. When robbers attacked them by night and burnt their house, Zeus in pity changed them all into birds. Munichus became a buzzard (*τριόρχης*), Lelante a wood-pecker of the sort that chops at an oak for insects (*πιπώ*), their sons Alcander, Megaletor, and Philæus, a wren (*όρχίλος*),⁹⁹ and two small birds (*ἰχνεύμων* and *κύων*), their daughter Hyperippe a large gull (*αιθυia*).

Taking into account these numerous transformations of the king into a bird, and especially that of Periphas, who, when turned into an eagle, was allowed "to guard the sacred sceptre," I would conjecture that the soul of the

⁹⁴ Ant. Lib., 19, after Boios *ornith.*, 2.

⁹⁵ The rape of Chrysippus, son of Pelops, which was commonly attributed to Laius (Roscher *Lex.* i. 903, ii. 1800), was described by the Sicyonian poetess Praxilla as the work of Zeus (*ap. Athen.*, 603 A). Similarly the rape of Ganymedes, usually ascribed to Zeus in the guise of an eagle, was sometimes laid to the charge of King Minos (Echemenes *ap. Athen.*, 601 E).

⁹⁶ *Hymn. Hom.*, 2. 105 ff., *alib.* See further *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 84.

⁹⁷ W. A. Greenhill in Smith *Dict. Biog. and Myth.*, ii., 1175.

⁹⁸ Ant. Lib., 14, after Nicander *heter.*, 2.

⁹⁹ Note that the wren was also called *βασιλεὺς* and *βασιλίσκος* by the Greeks (D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, p. 39), and the gold-crested wren *τίραννος* (*ib.*, p. 174).

slain king was supposed to escape in the form of a bird, and that its transmission to his successor was fitly symbolised by the eagle-tipped sceptre handed down from king to king. Thus the soul of Agamemnon, according to Plato,¹⁰⁰ became an eagle. His sceptre, according to Aristophanes and the scholiast,¹⁰¹ had an eagle perched upon it; and, as Pausanias¹⁰² states, was handed down from one member of the divine dynasty to another. Other early kings, such as Merops¹⁰³ son of Triopas the Coan, and Periclymenus¹⁰⁴ son of Neleus the Pylian, were transformed into eagles. And the eagle appears repeatedly as a portent in connexion with several lines of historical kings. Coins of Alexander the Great and his successors represent Zeus seated on a throne with an eagle in his right hand, a sceptre in his left.¹⁰⁵ On the day when Alexander was born two eagles perched on the roof of his father's house, "an omen of his two-fold rule over Europe and Asia."¹⁰⁶ Ptolemy Soter was exposed as an infant on a bronze shield; and a Macedonian tradition declared that an eagle hovering over him had by the spread of its wings protected him against sun and rain, driving off birds of prey and feeding him on the blood of quails.¹⁰⁷ Coins of the Ptolemaic dynasty regularly symbolise the reigning sovereign as an eagle, or the sovereign and his consort as a pair of eagles.¹⁰⁸ Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, kept a tame eagle which on the death of its

¹⁰⁰ Plat. *rep.*, 620 B.

¹⁰¹ Aristoph. *av.*, 510, with schol. *ad loc.*

¹⁰² Paus., 9. 40. II.

¹⁰³ Eustath., 1351, 29, schol. II.. 24. 293, Hyg. *poet. astr.*, 2. 16.

¹⁰⁴ Ov. *met.*, 12. 556 ff., Hyg. *fab.*, 10. So Pandareos of Ephesus was changed by Zeus into a sea-eagle (Ant. Lib., 11, after Boios *ornith.*), as was also Nisus king of Megara (Ov. *met.*, 8. 146, Hyg. *fab.*, 198, *Ciris* 536).

¹⁰⁵ See e.g. B. V. Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, p. 56 ff., pl. 27, 2, 4-8, 10, pl. 28, 12, 20, pl. 30, 5-7, 9-11, pl. 31, 12-14, 18.

¹⁰⁶ Just. 12. 16. 5.

¹⁰⁷ Suid. *s. v.* Λάγος.

¹⁰⁸ See Svoronos' *Corpus of Ptolemaic Coins*, iii., pl. 2 ff.

master refused food and died.¹⁰⁹ Achæmenes, the founder of the famous Persian dynasty, was said to have been reared by an eagle.¹¹⁰ The royal standard of Cyrus and the kings that followed him on the throne of Persia was a golden eagle on the top of a long staff.¹¹¹ Attached to the chariot of the Persian king was a golden eagle with extended wings, which was regarded as an object of peculiar sanctity.¹¹² In fact the attendants of the Persian prince used actually to mould his nose into an aquiline shape in order that he might himself resemble an eagle.¹¹³ Herodotus¹¹⁴ mentions eagle-tipped sceptres as used by the Babylonians, and Philostratus¹¹⁵ pictures the royal device of the Medes at Babylon as a golden eagle on a shield. Gordius, the founder of the Phrygian dynasty, when an eagle alighted on his plough, was bidden by a prophetess to sacrifice it to Zeus Βασιλεὺς.¹¹⁶ In Egypt,¹¹⁷ too, and in other oriental countries,¹¹⁸ the eagle seems to have been recognised as a royal bird. Roman parallels will be adduced later; but I may here note the statement of Artemidorus,¹¹⁹ that it was an ancient custom to represent kings and great men when dead as riding upon eagles: indeed the part played by the eagle in the apotheosis of the emperor was to some extent

¹⁰⁹ Ael. *de nat. an.*, 2. 40.

¹¹⁰ *Ib.*, 12. 21.

¹¹¹ Xen. *Cyr.*, 7. 1. 4.

¹¹² Curt., 3. 3. 16.

¹¹³ Olympiod. in Plat. *Alcib.*, i., 16, p. 153, cited by D'Arcy W. Thompson, *Gloss. Gk. Birds*, p. 4.

¹¹⁴ Hdt., 1. 195.

¹¹⁵ Philostr. Maj. *imagg.*, 2. 31. 1, cp. Ezek., 17. 3, 12. The Rev. C. H. W. Johns informs me that a double-headed eagle occurs as an early Babylonian standard: L. Heuzey, *Les origines orientales* (article "Les armoiries chaldéennes"), *Monuments et mémoires fondation Eugène Pirot*, ii., 204, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, iv., 36, De Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 5b.

¹¹⁶ Arr. *anab.*, 2. 3, Ael. *de nat. an.*, 13. 1.

¹¹⁷ Diod., 1. 87, Strab., 808, Horap., 2. 56, Ezek., 17. 7, 15; cp. the name Ἀετός for the Nile (Diod., 1. 19), Ἀετία for Egypt (Eustath. in Dionys., *per*. 239).

¹¹⁸ See Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, ed. 1794, ii., 769.

¹¹⁹ Artemid. *oneirocr.*, 2. 20.

anticipated in the eagles with outstretched wings attached by Alexander to the pyre of Hephaestion.¹²⁰ Also, if the younger Seneca¹²¹ is to be believed, which is doubtful, the Greek chieftains who attacked Thebes had, like the Romans, eagles for standards. All these facts, unless I am mistaken, hang together with the belief that the soul of the monarch appeared as an eagle, and in this form watched over the fortunes of his empire. The regalia handed down from king to king represented the sacred foliage as a wreath or crown, the sacred tree as a sceptre,¹²² and the sacred bird as an eagle perched upon it.

But, to return from our digression, we have seen that in Greece as elsewhere the divine king was probably doomed to die as soon as his physical strength gave way.

With increasing civilisation this barbaric rule was to some extent relaxed. Dr. Frazer, who first formulated it, has discussed various modifications of it, such as the sacrifice of the king's son or of a criminal in place of the king himself.¹²³ Greek examples of these mitigations are not wanting. It will be remembered, for instance, that the Edoni put their king, the "man-god" (*ἀνθρωποδαίμον*) Lycurgus, to death because their land remained barren.¹²⁴ Dr. Frazer¹²⁵ points out that a modification of this rule is well attested in the case of King Athamas, the brother of Salmoneus. His story was told by Sophocles as follows.¹²⁶ Athamas had two children, Phrixus and Helle, by the cloud-goddess Nephele. Afterwards he married a mortal woman, and Nephele out of jealousy sent a drought upon his land. Envoys despatched to the Pythian Apollo were bribed by

¹²⁰ Diod., I7. 115. See Creuzer *Symbolik*,³ iii., 757.

¹²¹ Sen. *Phan.*, 28.

¹²² See *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 418, *supra*, p. 371 f.

¹²³ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² ii., 55 f.

¹²⁴ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 313.

¹²⁵ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² ii., 34 ff.

¹²⁶ Schol. Aristoph. *nub.*, 257, Apostol., II. 58.

Nephele to report that the drought could only be stayed if Athamas sacrificed Phrixus and Helle. This he was about to do,¹²⁷ when a ram speaking with human voice warned them of their danger and they fled along with the ram. Helle fell off its back into the sea and gave her name to the Hellespont; but Phrixus got safely to Colchis and sacrificed the ram to Ares or Hermes. Meantime Athamas himself was garlanded like a victim and led out to be sacrificed. In the nick of time he was rescued by Heracles. Herodotus¹²⁸ further informs us that at Alus in Thessaly Athamas was said to have been saved by the arrival of Cytisorus, the son of Phrixus, from Colchis—an intervention which drew down the wrath of Zeus Λαφύστιος upon his descendants. The eldest son of the family had to refrain from entering the *prytaneum*. "Should he enter it, he must not leave it till he is about to be sacrificed."¹²⁹ Many of those who were thus condemned to die had fled the country in terror. It is tolerably certain that here we have an example of the king's death being commuted into the death of the king's son. In other places a stranger or a prisoner was substituted. When the land of Egypt remained barren for nine years, Phrasius, a Cyprian seer, told King Busiris that the famine could be stayed, if he would sacrifice a stranger to Zeus every year. Busiris promptly began by sacrificing Phrasius himself and afterwards other strangers who visited the country. Heracles, when he came thither, was garlanded and led out to the altar of Zeus: but, turning on his captors, he slew them all, including Busiris and his son Iphidamas or Amphidamas.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Pherecydes *ap. schol.* Pind. *Pyth.*, 4. 288, stated that Phrixus offered himself as a voluntary victim when the crops were perishing.

¹²⁸ Hdt., 7. 197.

¹²⁹ Cp. Plat. *Minos*, 315 c., *schol.* Ap. Rhod., 2. 653.

¹³⁰ Apollod., 2. 5. II., Hdt., 2. 45, Pherecyd. *ap. schol.* Ap. Rhod., 4. 1396. The scene is graphically depicted on a *hydria* from Caere, now at Vienna (Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 51).

A yet milder method of ensuring the bodily competence of the priestly king was to limit the period of his reign. At Priene a young man was appointed as king (*βασιλεύς*) to offer the sacrifices at the Panionian festival: he presumably held office during the festival only, or at most for the year.¹³¹ At Chæronea the man who kept the sceptre of Zeus, and was therefore priestly king, had it in his house "for the year."¹³² At Athens the king (*βασιλεύς*), who in early days was called Zeus,¹³³ gave judgment in the Royal Colonnade for a year.¹³⁴ At Megara and in various other towns of Greece¹³⁵ the eponymous magistrate bearing the title *βασιλεύς* was probably a priestly king, whose reign lasted but a twelvemonth. Elsewhere the tenure of the office was longer, but still of limited duration. The Greeks, in their attempt to reconcile the lunar with the solar year, advanced progressively from a "great year" of twenty-four months (*τριετηρίς*), through one of forty-eight (*πεντετηρίς*), to one of ninety-six (*έννεετηρίς*). This last-mentioned period, as Censorinus¹³⁶ remarks, figured largely in Greek

¹³¹ Strab. 384. See *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 415.

¹³² Paus., 9. 40. 12.

¹³³ *Supra*, p. 385, with n. 84.

¹³⁴ Paus., 1. 3. 1.

¹³⁵ E.g., Aegosthena (*Michei Rec. d'inscr. grecq.*, 172, 2), Chios (*ib.*, 1383, 9), Calchedon (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*,² 596, 14), Chersonesus (*ib.*, 326, 56), Megara (*ib.*, 174, 1), Miletus (*ib.*, 627, 5), Samothrace (*ib.*, 658, 1; 659, 1). See further the list in G. Gilbert *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsalterthümer*, ii., 324, n. 1.

¹³⁶ Censorin. *de die natali*, 18, cp. Plut. *de plac. philos.*, 2. 32. Apollod., 3. 4. 2, states that "Cadmus served Ares for a whole year; and a year in those days consisted of eight years" (*ἥν δὲ ὁ ἑνιαυτὸς τότε ὀκτώ ἔτη*). Similarly Apollo served Admetus "for a year" (*ib.*, 3. 10. 4, *ἑνιαυτόν*, and so schol. Eur. *Alc.*, 1) or, according to another account, "for nine years" (Serv. in Verg. *Aen.*, 7. 761, *novem annis* probably by a confusion with the *έννεετηρίς*); while Heracles served Eurystheus for eight years and one month (Apollod. 2. 5. 11, *ἐν μηνὶ καὶ ἔτοιν ὀκτώ*, an odd period explained by C. O. Müller *Hist. and Ant. of the Doric Race*, i., 445, as "the Ennaëteris . . . which was . . . eight years and three intercalary months").

religious observances. Among other things it fixed the length of the king's tether. "As . . . the dignity of the kings," says C. O. Müller,¹³⁷ "was founded on a religious notion, so it was also limited by religion, although the account we have is rather of an ancient custom, that was retained when its meaning had been lost, than an institution of real influence. Once in every eight years (*δι' ἑτῶν ἐννέα*) the ephors chose a calm and moonless night, and placed themselves in the most profound silence to observe the heavens: if there was any appearance of a shooting star, it was believed that the kings had in some manner offended the Deity, and they were suspended until an oracle from Delphi, or the priests at Olympia, absolved them from the guilt.¹³⁸ If this custom . . . is compared with the frequent occurrence of this period of nine years in early times,¹³⁹ and especially with the tradition preserved in a verse of Homer,¹⁴⁰ 'of Minos, who reigned for periods of nine years, holding intercourse with Jupiter,' it is easy to perceive that the dominion of the ancient Doric princes determined, as it were, at the period of every eight years, and required a fresh religious ratification. So intimate in early times was the connexion between government and religion." The case of Minos merits more than a passing mention. Tradition said that at the expiration of each period of eight years he repaired to the cave on Mount Ida for a personal interview with Zeus, who then communicated

¹³⁷ C. O. Müller *op. cit.*, ii., 104.

¹³⁸ Plut. *vit. Agis*, II.

¹³⁹ [E.g. the famine of Busiris lasted for nine years (*supra*, p. 393). Anius, the priestly king of Delos, bade the Achaeans on their way to Troy stay with him for nine years (Lyc. *Alex.*, 571, *ἐννέωρον . . . χρόνον, alib.*). The werewolves of Arcadia returned to human shape after nine years (Plin. *nat. hist.*, 8. 81 f.).]

¹⁴⁰ [*Od.*, 19. 178 f. *τῆσι δ' ἐνὶ Κνωσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἔνθα τε Μίνως | ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διός μεγάλου ὥαριστης.*]

to him the laws that he was to give the Cretans.¹⁴¹ In other words, Minos renewed his divine commission as king and law-giver at intervals of eight years. This custom he is said to have borrowed from a more ancient ruler, Rhadamanthys by name,¹⁴² so that doubtless it was an extremely archaic Cretan institution. It was also every ninth year that the Minotaur received his tribute of human victims,¹⁴³ a usage which probably implies that the solar powers of the king needed renewal at the same recurring period.¹⁴⁴ These examples lead us to conjecture that the restriction of the Athenian kings (*βασιλεῖς*) or rulers (*ἀρχοντες*) from a life tenure, first to ten years, and then to one year,¹⁴⁵ was due not merely to political but also to religious motives. A suggestive tale is told about one of the old life-kings named Thymœtes.¹⁴⁶ In a war between the Athenians and Boeotians he was challenged to a single combat by Xanthus, king of Boeotia, but declined the challenge through old age or cowardice and offered his kingdom as a reward to any man who would venture to fight the Boeotian champion. Melanthus the Neleid, a recent immigrant from Messenia, undertook the task and, thanks to divine assistance, succeeded. The throne thus passed from the Theseids to the Neleids, who had proved themselves physically competent to reign. But the new dynasty did not remain *sans peur et sans reproche* for long. Melanthus was followed by a son worthy of him, the heroic Codrus: Codrus' son Medon was lame of one leg and therefore had much ado to

¹⁴¹ Plat. *Min.*, 319 c., *legg.*, 624 b., Strab. 476, 762, Eustath., 1861, 25 ff., Val. Max., I. 2 ext. I.

¹⁴² Ephorus *ap.* Strab. 476, Eustath., 1861, 25 ff.

¹⁴³ Plut. *vit. Thes.*, 15, Diod. 4. 61, Ov. *met.*, 8. 171; op. Höck *Kreta*, ii., 93 f.

¹⁴⁴ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 410 f.

¹⁴⁵ Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii.,² 135.

¹⁴⁶ Con. 39, schol. Aristoph. *Ach.*, 146, *pax*, 890, cp. Hdt., 5. 65, Paus., 2. 18. 9, Strab., 393, Ephor. *frag.* 25 Müller, *alib.*

retain the sovereignty¹⁴⁷; indeed, according to the usual tradition, he and his successors were known as archons for life rather than kings.¹⁴⁸ The Medontidæ in turn were followed by a series of archons who bore office for ten years only. But even this limited rule was no safeguard against moral degeneration and consequent physical incompetence. A fragment of Heraclides Ponticus *de rebus publicis*¹⁴⁹ states that the Athenians "ceased to choose their kings from the descendants of Codrus because they appeared to have become enervated through luxurious living," and adds that Hippomenes the Codrid, whom we know to have been one of the ten-year archons,¹⁵⁰ was anxious to vindicate his character against this charge. Aristotle¹⁵¹ likewise asserts that the office of polemarch was instituted "owing to the fact that some of the kings have proved cowardly in warfare." Finally the kingship became an annual magistracy, tenable only by those who were bodily perfect, while the polemarch continued to discharge the military duties once undertaken by the king.¹⁵² It is not improbable, therefore, that the gradual restriction in the tenure of the Athenian kings was intimately bound up with the question of their physical competence.

However that may be, we have seen that among the Greeks in general two methods of ensuring a satisfactory succession were in vogue. On the one hand, the king as strongest man in the district was expected to challenge all comers to an athletic contest: if vanquished, he yielded his place to the victor, who reigned in his stead. On the other hand, the king might be forced to abdicate at the end of a fixed period, after enjoying his office say for one year, or

¹⁴⁷ *Supra*, p. 375.

¹⁴⁸ Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii.,² 132 ff.

¹⁴⁹ Heracl. Pont. *de reb. publ.*, I. 3 Müller.

¹⁵⁰ Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii.,² 130, 135.

¹⁵¹ Aristot. *de rep. Ath.* 3. 2.

¹⁵² *Supra*, p. 375 f.

for eight. It now occurs to us that a combination of these two methods may well have produced one of the most remarkable and characteristic institutions of ancient Greece, *viz.*, the great public games. I venture to suggest¹⁵³ that these were at first merely a means of selecting the man best fitted to become the priestly king of the locality in which they were held; and that the enormous importance attached to them is to be explained as due, not to any exaggerated or excessive devotion to athletics, but rather to the religious issues involved in the choice of one who should worthily represent God to men.

The greatest of all Greek games were those celebrated at Olympia; and it so happens that at Olympia the evidence in favour of my hypothesis is particularly clear. The earliest king of Elis, according to Pausanias,¹⁵⁴ was called Aëthlius, "the Prize-winner," a name which presumably implies that he had won the kingdom as the prize in a public contest. He was the father of Endymion, of whom we read¹⁵⁵ "Endymion . . . offered his sons the kingdom as a prize to be won in the race at Olympia," and again¹⁵⁶ "Endymion set his sons to run a race at Olympia for the kingdom: Epeus won the race and obtained the kingdom." About a generation after Endymion Pelops, who had already won Pisa from Oenomaus by victory in the famous chariot-race,¹⁵⁷ "acquired not only the land of Pisa, but also the border district of Olympia, which he severed from the territory of Epeus,"¹⁵⁸ and "celebrated the games in honour of Olympian Zeus in a grander way than all who had gone before him."¹⁵⁹ Later, the claims of Dius and Oxylus were

¹⁵³ Cp. *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 275 n. 1.

¹⁵⁴ Paus., 5. i. 3.

¹⁵⁵ Ib., 5. 8. 1.

¹⁵⁶ Ib., 5. i. 4.

¹⁵⁷ *Supra*, p. 381 f.

¹⁵⁸ Paus., 5. i. 7.

¹⁵⁹ Ib., 5. 8. 2.

settled by a single combat, the former being represented by an archer, the latter by a slinger.¹⁶⁰ "After the reign of Oxylus, who also held the games, the Olympic festival was discontinued down to the time of Iphitus. When Iphitus renewed the games . . . people had forgotten the ancient customs, and they only gradually remembered them."¹⁶¹ "Iphitus presided alone over the games, and after Iphitus the descendants of Oxylus did likewise."¹⁶² Tradition, therefore, manifestly points to the conclusion that the Olympic games originated in a contest for the post of local king.

Further, there are reasons for believing that the Olympic victor or local king at one time posed as a human Zeus. It was in Elis that Salmoneus pretended to be Zeus¹⁶³: Virgil¹⁶⁴ describes him as a victor (*ovans*) who claimed divine honours; and a fifth-century vase now at Chicago¹⁶⁵ shows him decked with olive sprays and fillets as an Olympic victor, while he brandishes a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sword in his left, apparently as an embodiment of Thunderbolt Zeus and Warlike Zeus, two forms of Zeus connected with Oenomaus at Olympia.¹⁶⁶ Even in historical times, when "people had forgotten the ancient customs" and the victor no longer carried a thunderbolt, there are indications that he was in effect both king and Zeus. To begin with, he was crowned; and his crown resembled that of Zeus himself,¹⁶⁷ being a wreath cut from

¹⁶⁰ *Ib.*, 5. 4. 1 f.

¹⁶¹ *Ib.*, 5. 8. 5.

¹⁶² *Ib.*, 5. 9. 4.

¹⁶³ Apollod., 1. 9. 7., cp. *Folk-Lore*, xv., 300, 312.

¹⁶⁴ Verg. *Aen.*, 6. 589.

¹⁶⁵ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 275 ff., fig. 5.

¹⁶⁶ Paus., 5. 14. 6 f. It is expressly stated (*ib.*, 6) that Oenomaus used to sacrifice on the altar of Warlike Zeus at Olympia, "whenever he was about to engage in a chariot-race with any of the suitors of Hippodamia," i.e., whenever he offered his kingdom and his daughter to the man who should beat him in personal prowess (*supra*, p. 381 f.).

¹⁶⁷ Paus., 5. 11. 1.

the sacred olive, which grew behind the temple of Zeus¹⁶⁸: it had to be severed with a golden sickle by a boy, both of whose parents were alive.¹⁶⁹ Again, he was pelted with leaves,¹⁷⁰ perhaps as a representative of the tree-god. He was also adorned with prophylactic fillets and wore a peculiar helmet of honour surmounted by a high spike, &c.¹⁷¹ Not only was he feasted "within the Prytaneum, opposite the chamber in which is the hearth,"¹⁷² as though he were the king in his palace; but on his return home he was clad in a mantle which is compared to the royal purple,¹⁷³ and drawn by white horses¹⁷⁴ into the city through a breach in its wall.¹⁷⁵ Horace¹⁷⁶ in a well-known passage says:

There are who joy them in the Olympic strife
And love the dust they gather in the course;
The goal by hot wheels shunn'd, the famous prize,
Exalt them to the gods that rule mankind.

Lucian¹⁷⁷ speaks in similar terms of the victor as "deemed equal to the gods" (*ἰσόθεον νομίζομενον*). And that this was no empty figure of speech is proved by the numerous examples of Olympic victors, who were not merely heroified, but actually deified and worshipped as gods by their

¹⁶⁸ *Ib.*, 5. 15. 3.

¹⁶⁹ Schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.*, 3. 60.

¹⁷⁰ *Ib. Ol.*, 8. 101, *Et. mag.*, 532, 46, *alib.*

¹⁷¹ See the vase-paintings reproduced in *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 274 f., figs. 3 and 4.

¹⁷² Paus., 5. 15. 12.

¹⁷³ Schol. Aristoph. *nub.*, 70.

¹⁷⁴ Diod., 13. 82. Dr. Frazer has suggested to me that the victor, not merely as drawn by white horses, but also as racing in his four-horse car, may have represented the sun-god (Roscher, *Lex.*, i. 2005 ff.); and there is much to be said in favour of the suggestion—cp. e.g. Virgil's description of Salmoneus: quattuor hic inventus equis et lampada quassans | per Graium populos mediaeque per Elidis urbem | ibat ovans divumque sibi poscebat honorem (*Aen.* 6. 587 ff.).

¹⁷⁵ Plut. *symp.*, 2. 5. Dio 63. 20, Suet. *Nero*, 25.

¹⁷⁶ Hor. *od. I. I.* 3 ff., Conington.

¹⁷⁷ Luc. *Anach.*, 10.

fellow-countrymen.¹⁷⁸ Another trace of the same conception may be found in the rule that athletes who cheated in the games at Olympia were fined, and that from the fines thus levied bronze statues of Zeus called *Zanes* were made and set up in the sacred precinct.¹⁷⁹ When we recall Macrobius' statement¹⁸⁰ that "the souls of consecrated men, whom the Greeks call *Zanes*, they regarded as owed to the gods," it is tempting to suppose that we have here the final commutation of what was originally a death-penalty imposed on the would-be king who could not beat his opponent in fair fight.¹⁸¹ Lastly, the belief that the Olympic victor was an incarnation of Zeus will serve to explain two myths, which I append without further comment. Pausanias,¹⁸² when discussing the origin of the games at Olympia, makes the singular statement: "Some say that Zeus here wrestled with Cronus himself for the kingdom; others that he held the games in honour of his victory over Cronus." Tzetzes¹⁸³ preserves a yet more singular legend bearing on the same subject: "Heracles vanquished in battle Augeas king of Elis, the son of Helios and Iphiboe, because he had not received the reward due to him for the cleansing of the byre; and, having sacked Elis, he formed of the spoils thereof a contest in honour of Olympian Zeus and called it the Olympian contest. It was held every four years or, to speak with more precision, every fifty months. The athletes contended in the *pentathlon* (boxing,

¹⁷⁸ Philippus of Crotona heroified (Hdt. 5. 47); Cleomedes of Astypalaea heroified (Paus., 6. 9. 8); Polydamas of Scotussa invoked as healer (Luc. *deor. concil.*, 12); Euthymus of Locri in Italy deified during his life-time (Plin. *nat. hist.*, 7. 152, Paus., 6. 6. 10); Theagenes of Thasos worshipped as a god in Thasos and elsewhere (Paus., 6. 11. 8 f., Luc. *deor. concil.*, 12). See *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 275.

¹⁷⁹ Paus., 5. 21. 2.

¹⁸⁰ *Supra*, p. 384.

¹⁸¹ *Supra*, p. 382 f.

¹⁸² Paus., 5. 7. 10.

¹⁸³ Tzetz. in *Lyc. Alex.*, 41.

running, long jump, quoit-throwing, and wrestling) as well as in other sports. In the first contest ever held Heracles challenged any who would to wrestle with him. When no man dared to do so, Zeus likened himself to a wrestler and faced Heracles. The bout lasted long and was indecisive, till Zeus made himself known to his son."

Almost equal in importance to the Olympic festival was that celebrated in the territory of Delphi, the ancient Pytho. Here too there are reasons for thinking that the public contest was originally a method of determining who should be priestly king. These reasons are chiefly connected with certain rites performed at Delphi once in every eight years. Plutarch¹⁸⁴ states that at intervals of eight years the Delphians held a series of three solemnities (*έννεετηρίδας*) called the *Stepterion*,¹⁸⁵ the *Herois*, and the *Charila*. The *Stepterion* was a mimetic representation of the fight between Python and Apollo, and of the god's subsequent flight or pursuit to Tempe: some said that he had fled to obtain purification; others that he had pursued the wounded Python along the sacred road and had come up with it just dead and buried by its son Aix. The *Herois* was a sort of drama representing apparently the ascent of Semele from the under-world: a mystic tale, known to the Thyiades, was told concerning it. The *Charila*¹⁸⁶ too was a ritual performance. The king (*βασιλεύς*) sat on a throne distributing food to all and sundry. The figure of a virgin called Charila was brought in, held by all in turn, and beaten by the king with his

¹⁸⁴ Plut. *q̄est. Gr.*, 12.

¹⁸⁵ The vulgate has *Σεπτήριον*; but Bernardakis, the most recent editor, reads *Σεπτήριον*, which according to D. Wytténbach *animad̄. in Plut. op. mor.*, iii., 46, is found in Ald. E. Voss. P. H. van Herwerden, *Appendix Lexici Graci*, p. 203, is confident that *Σεπτήριον* is the true reading: "Iniuria σεπτήριον olim habitum est pro genuina lectione." On the meaning of the variants see A. Mommsen *Delphika*, p. 210 n. 1, and *infra*, p. 404 f.

¹⁸⁶ See *Folk-Lore*, xv., 313 f.

sandal ; it was then taken off by the principal Thyiad to a rocky glen and buried with a cord round its neck. The tale told to account for this rite spoke of a certain drought during which the king had failed to provide food for his subjects and had beaten a young girl who begged for it : she had gone away and hanged herself, and famine and disease had followed until the king at the bidding of the Pythian priestess undertook this expiatory sacrifice (*μεμνυμένην τινὰ καθαρμῷ θυσίαν*). In order to grasp the meaning of these peculiar ceremonies we must compare a few other passages in which reference is made to them. Plutarch¹⁸⁷ elsewhere gives us further information about the *Stepterion*, though he does not describe it by that name. Apollo, he says, once fought with a snake for the possession of the Delphic oracle ; and he proceeds to indicate various details in the ritual representation of the fight. “The hut (*καλιάς*) which is erected here near the threshing-floor at intervals of eight years is not a cavernous serpent’s hole, but an imitation of a royal or kingly dwelling.” At this point Plutarch’s text has suffered corruption ;¹⁸⁸ but it is clear that certain persons, taking with them a boy whose parents were both alive, made a silent and stealthy attack upon the hut, and, having fired it with torches and upset the table-altar, fled through the doors of the precinct without looking behind them. In substantial agreement with this is the account of Ephorus,¹⁸⁹ who stated that Apollo shot with his bow a fierce man named Python and surnamed Serpent, the Delphians burning his hut (*σκηνή*) ; in memory of which achievement the ritual was still kept up. Pausanias¹⁹⁰ too records the statement that Python was not a mere snake, but “an overbearing son of Crius, a chieftain of Eubœa, who rifled the

¹⁸⁷ Plut. *de def. orac.*, 15.

¹⁸⁸ Conjectures are collected by A. Mommsen *Delphika*, p. 208 n. 2 f.

¹⁸⁹ Ephor. ap. Strab., 422.

¹⁹⁰ Paus., 10. 6. 6 f.

sanctuary of the god and the houses of wealthy men," but was shot by Apollo. Plutarch¹⁹¹ further speaks of "the wanderings and the service of the boy and the purifications that take place at Tempe," which in connection with his statement that the god fled to Tempe to obtain purification¹⁹² makes it clear that the boy in the religious drama played the part of Apollo. The sequel is told by others. Aelian¹⁹³ in his description of Tempe says: "The sons of the Thessalians declare that here too the Pythian Apollo was purified at the bidding of Zeus, when he had shot the serpent Python that guarded Delphi while Ge still occupied the oracle. Apollo crowned himself with this laurel of Tempe, took a branch of it in his right hand, and came to Delphi, where he took over the oracle as the son of Zeus and Leto And down to the present day at intervals of eight years the Delphians send a procession of high-born youths, and one of themselves as leader (*ἀρχιθέωπος*). On their arrival they offer a magnificent sacrifice at Tempe and return again when they have wreathed crowns of the same laurel with which the god crowned himself in the past. They traverse the road that is called the Pythian way And the crowns that are given to the victors at the Pythian games are made of this laurel."

So, then, the culminating act of the *Stepterion* was the wreathing or crowning with laurel of the youths who acted the part of the victorious god; and we are expressly told that victors in the Pythian games, which followed almost immediately,¹⁹⁴ were crowned with the same laurel. Two inferences are obvious. On the one hand, *Stepterion*

¹⁹¹ Plut. *de def. orac.*, 15.

¹⁹² *Supra*, p. 402.

¹⁹³ Ael. var. hist. 3. 1, cp. schol. Pind. *Pyth.*, p. 298, Böckh.

¹⁹⁴ A. Mommsen *Delphika*, pp. 211, 214, from a comparison of Plut. *de def. orac.*, 2, διλγον πρὸ Πυθίων and *ib.*, 15, ἄρτι.

means the “Coronation” rite (*στεππός*, “crowned”).¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, the Pythian victor was crowned king as the triumphant representative of the god. Moreover, when we recollect the stealthy attack made by Apollo’s representative upon the “royal or kingly dwelling” of the human Serpent, it becomes highly probable that the Pythian victor originally succeeded to the crown as being the champion who had slain the previous king. These inferences are materially strengthened by the fact that the Pythian games were at first held, not every fourth year, but every eighth year:¹⁹⁶ they are indeed termed “an eight-year festival” (*ἐννεετηρίς*)—the very word used by Plutarch of the *Stepterion*. Also it is known that the earliest form of the Pythian contest on record was “the singing of a hymn to the god”;¹⁹⁷ and that this hymn, the famous *νόμος Πυθίκος*, described the fight of Apollo with the Serpent.¹⁹⁸ Now Pausanias,¹⁹⁹ in his description of the temple at Delphi, says: “Not far from the hearth stands the throne of Pindar: it is of iron, and they say that whenever Pindar came to Delphi he used to sit on it and sing his songs to Apollo.” From this it may be inferred that the Pythian victor was not only crowned king as personating the god, but actually sat on a throne beside the sacred hearth.

¹⁹⁵ Cp. Hesych. *στεπτήρια* • *στέμματα*, δοιάκεται ἐκ τῶν κλάδων ἐξηπτουν, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*,² 616, 29 (Cos) δὸ τοῦ Ζηνὸς ἵ]ερεὺς στέ(π)τει= στέφει, *Anth. Plan.*, 306. 2, δινωτοῦ στρεπτὸν (Jacobs and others cij. *στεπτὸν*) ὑπέρθε λιθοῦ.

¹⁹⁶ Demetrius of Phalerum *ap. schol. Od.*, 3. 267, τότε δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐννεετηρικὸν τῶν Πυθίων ἀγῶνα ἀγωνοθετεῖ Κρέων, ἐνίκα δὲ Δημόδοκος Λάκων, Eustath., 1466, 7, ἀγωνοθετοῦντος Κρέοντος τὸν ἐννεετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πυθίων • ἐν φῶ ἐνίκα Δημόδοκος Λάκων, schol. Pind. *Pyth.*, p. 298, Böckh ἐπελείπετο δὲ ὁ ἀγώνις καταρχά, μὲν διὰ ἐννεετηρίδος, μετέστη δὲ εἰς πεντετηρίδα κ.τ.λ., Censorin. *de die nat.*, 18. 6, Delphis quoque ludi qui vocantur Pythia post annum octavum olim conficiebantur.

¹⁹⁷ Paus., 10. 7. 2, Strab., 421.

¹⁹⁸ Strab., 421, Poll., 4. 84, schol. Pind. *Pyth.*, p. 297, Böckh.

¹⁹⁹ Paus., 10. 24. 5.

Further confirmation of my conjecture, that a priestly king once reigned for eight years only at Delphi and that he was chosen as victor in the Pythian contest, is fortunately forthcoming. Aristotle²⁰⁰ states that the king who presided at the common hearth of the people was sometimes called their *archon* or "ruler." And an inscription²⁰¹ found in 1892 at Magnesia on the Maeander mentions a certain Xenvyllus, who lived about 1090 B.C., as *proarchon* or "ruler of the eight-year festival at Delphi." It thus appears that, just as at Athens we saw first kings, then ten-year *archons*, and lastly annual *archons*, so at Delphi the annual *archons* were preceded by eight-year *proarchons*, and the eight-year *proarchons* by kings: also, that it was the express business of the eight-year *proarchons* to preside over the eight-year Pythian festival.

With regard to the second part of this festival, the *Heroës*, its name the "hero-feast" coupled with Plutarch's statement that its ritual resembled the evocation of the earth-goddess Semele suggests that it portrayed the resurrection of the Delphic heroes. But who were the heroes? Possibly the whole line of Delphic kings and victors. "At Delphi," says the scholiast on Pindar,²⁰² "an entertainment for heroes takes place, at which the god appears to invite the heroes to a banquet." This is said à propos of Neoptolemus, who, according to Pausanias,²⁰³ was slain on the sacred hearth by

²⁰⁰ *Supra*, p. 370 n. 3.

²⁰¹ O. Kern, *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maiandros*, Berlin, 1894, p. 7. ὡς δὲ περὶ ὅγοικουθ' ἔτη μετὰ τὴν ἀφέων ἐφά[νησαν οἱ λευκοὶ] κόρακες, εὐθίως ἀμα θυσίας χαριστηρίος [ἐ]πέμ[φθησαν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἑρωτήσοντες περὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν ιδίαν[αν] ἐπανόδον ιερωμένης] ἐν Ἀργεί Θεμιστοῦς, προάρχοντος ἐν [Δελφοῖς τὴν ἐν[. . . .] Ξενύλλου. The text is given also by Sakolowski in *Mythographi Graeci*, ii., 1, p. xxi., and Michel *Recueil d'inscr. grecques*, 855. For the last lacuna Kern *op. cit.*, p. 10, suggests τὴν ἐ[ιανσιον] sc. ἀρχίν: but τὴν ἐ[ννεετηρίδα] is more likely; see Pauly-Wissowa, iv., 2590 and 2605.

²⁰² Schol. Pind. *Nem.*, 7. 68.

²⁰³ Paus., 10. 24. 4 and 6, cp. I. II. 1, I. 13. 9, 4. 17. 4, "Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, slew Priam at the altar of the God of the Courtyard, and by a

the priest of Apollo²⁰⁴ and being buried close by was worshipped with annual²⁰⁵ sacrifices as a hero.²⁰⁶ Euripides²⁰⁷ in a well-known passage describes how single-handed and armed with the weapons of the god he had fought for his life against the joint attack of the Delphians—"a sword-bearing band shaded with laurel." Have we here a reminiscence of the priestly king killed at his hearth on the expiration of his term of office?²⁰⁸ However that may be, Pindar, of whose enthronement at Delphi I have spoken, took rank with the Delphic heroes and was specially invited to the banquet of the god (*θεοξένια*)²⁰⁹—a distinction conferred on his descendants after him.²¹⁰ Pindar, then, if any one, would be likely to know the true significance of the *Heroës* held every eight years at Delphi. A fragment of his poetry preserved by Plato²¹¹ runs as follows :

" For from whomsoever Persephone hath accepted the atonement
of ancient woe, their souls she sendeth up once more

notable coincidence he was himself slaughtered at Delphi beside the altar of Apollo. Hence to be treated as one has treated others is called the retribution of Neoptolemus." We are reminded of *The priest who slew the slayer, and shall himself be slain.*

²⁰⁴ He was struck by "a man with a knife" (*ἀνήρ μαχαίρᾳ*, Pind. *Nem.*, 7. 61) usually called the "Knife-man" (*Μαχαιρένς* Asclepiades *ap.* schol. Pind. *Nem.* 7. 62, Strab. 421, Sophocles *ap.* Eustath. 1479, 13, *Apollod.* *epitom* 6. 14). Another version made him slay himself with a knife (Pheræcydes *ap.* schol. Eur. *Or.* 1654, *ἴαντὸν δὲ κτείνει μαχαίρᾳ*, if the text is sound). See further Roscher *Lex.*, iii., 172 and 176.

²⁰⁵ Heliodorus speaks of sacrifices paid to Neoptolemus every four years at the time of the Pythian contest : *Aethiop.* 2. 34, *ἡ δὲ θυσία καὶ ἡ θεωρία, τετραετηρίδα ταῦτα, ὅτε πέρ καὶ ὁ Πυθίων ἀγών (ἔστι δὲ νῦν ὡς οἰσθα) πεμπονταί Αἰγαῖανες Νεοπτολέμῳ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως.*

²⁰⁶ On Neoptolemus as the hero *par excellence* at Delphi see A. Mommsen *Delphika*, p. 225 ff.

²⁰⁷ Eur. *Andr.*, 1085 ff.

²⁰⁸ J. Töpffer, *Beiträge*, p. 132 f., suggests that Neoptolemus' death was sacrificial, and compares it with the human sacrifices to Apollo at the Athenian festival of the *Thargelia*.

²⁰⁹ Eustath. *vit. Pind.*, p. civ., 14 ff., W. Christ.

²¹⁰ Plut. *de sera numinis vindicta*, 13.

²¹¹ Plat. *Meno*, 81 B f.

to the upper sun in the ninth year (*ἐνάρτῳ ἔτει ἀνδιδοῖς ψυχὰς πάλων*). From these grow up glorious kings and men of swift strength and men surpassing in poetic skill; and for all future time they are called holy heroes among men.'

This resurrection of heroes after an interval of eight years can hardly be other than the resurrection represented at the eight-year *Heroës*. On that showing, the heroes in question must have been kings and victors in gymnastic and musical contests—in short, the whole dynasty of priestly kings, who were apparently regarded as re-incarnations of their predecessors.²¹²

Lastly, as to the third and concluding portion of the festival, it is not difficult from our present point of view to see that Charila was a human scape-goat,²¹³ to whom the guilt of the community in general, and of the king in particular, was transferred. This implies that at the end of every eight years the king was thought unfit to reign without a definite act of expiation: probably in the far past the king had himself been put to death as one who was no longer vigorous enough to produce satisfactory crops.²¹⁴

At one time this eight-year festival seems to have been observed over a wider area. The Delians, for example,

²¹² This idea of reincarnation recurs in connection with the nine-year cycle of the Arcadians. Plin. *nat. hist.*, 8. 82, cites from Scopas *Olympionica* the statement that Demenetus the Parrhasian at the human sacrifice offered to Zeus Λυκαῖος by the Arcadians tasted the entrails of a boy-victim and was thereupon transformed into a wolf, but that nine years later he returned to human shape and won a victory in boxing at Olympia. In the same context (8. 81) Pliny quotes from Euanthes another Arcadian tale to the effect that the family of a certain Anthus cast lots, and that the man on whom the lot fell was taken to a lake and, after hanging his clothes on an oak-tree, swam across the lake to a desert place, where he was transformed into a wolf; that he associated with other such wolves for the space of nine years, and, if he had during that time abstained from attacking men, he was restored to his original shape, resumed his cast-off clothing, and had an additional nine years' lease of life granted him.

²¹³ Cp. the examples given by Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² iii., 124 ff.

²¹⁴ *Supra*, p. 392 f., cp. p. 383.

used in early days to send a sacred embassy to Delphi, a custom which having fallen in desuetude was revived in the second century B.C. and thenceforward maintained in accordance with the old eight-year cycle: an extant inscription²¹⁵ records a long list of Delian priests who together with certain Attic magistrates paid first-fruits to the god on that solemn occasion. Of more importance is the account given by Proclus²¹⁶ of the Bœotian *Daphnephoria* or "Laurel-bearing." This rite, which is best known nowadays through the noble painting of Sir Frederick Leighton, was enacted in the following fashion. "In Bœotia at intervals of eight years (δ' ἐννεατηρίδος) the priests used to carry laurels to the precinct of Apollo, extolling him by means of a choir of maidens. The custom sprang from this cause. The Aeolians who dwelt in Arne and its neighbourhood migrated thence at the bidding of an oracle, and laying siege to Thebes, which had previously been occupied by Pelasgians, captured the town. When a festival of Apollo common to them both occurred, they made a truce and, having cut laurels, the one side from Helicon, the other from the river Melas, brought the same to the god. But Polematas the leader of the Bœotians dreamed that a young man gave him a complete set of armour and bade him offer prayers to Apollo along with a company of laurel-bearers once in every eight years. Two days later he attacked and vanquished the enemy. So he himself performed the rite of laurel-bearing, and the custom has been kept up ever since. In it they wreath a piece of olive-wood with laurels and various flowers. A bronze ball is attached to the top; and from it hang smaller balls. About the middle of the staff

²¹⁵ *Corp. inscr. Attic.* II., ii., no. 985, p. 432 τῆς πρώτης ἐννεατηρίδος . . . τὰς ἀπαρχὰς [τῷ] Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ. See Busolt *Griechische Geschichte*, i.,² 676 n. 2.

²¹⁶ Procl. *chrestomathia*, 25, p. 352 f. Gaisford, [Cp. the Pindaric δαφνηφορικόν (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iv. 50 ff., no. 659, *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.* Nov. 19, 1904, p. 1476 ff.).] Schol. Clem. Alex., p. 94f. Klotz.

is a ball of less size than the ball at the top: this they bind with purple fillets. The end of the staff they deck with a saffron-coloured stuff. They take the topmost ball to denote the sun, regarding Apollo himself as a sun-god; the ball beneath, to denote the moon, the small balls attached being the stars and planets, and the fillets, of which there are 365, being the year. A boy, whose parents are both living, is the ruler (*ἀρχεῖ*) of the laurel-bearing. His nearest relative carries the wreathed staff, which they call *kopo* (*κωπώ*)²¹⁷; but the laurel-bearer himself follows holding the laurel. He has his hair long, and wears a golden crown. He is robed in a glittering costume reaching to his feet, which are shod with military shoes (*ἱφικρατίδας*).²¹⁸ A choir of maidens follows after him, holding out branches while they chant hymns of supplication. The laurel-bearing procession used to go to the shrines of Ismenian²¹⁹ and Chalazian²²⁰ Apollo." According to Proclus, then, the first laurel-bearer was a victorious Bœotian leader, whose successors at intervals of eight years were said to "rule" the laurel-bearing, and were dressed as kings (golden crown, &c.). Moreover, they obviously represented the sky-god or sun-god—witness not only the long hair and glittering costume, but the staff tipped by a bronze sphere to denote the sun,²²¹ with others to denote the moon and

²¹⁷ The name *κωπώ* might denote "the thing held," cp. *κώπη* "handle" (connected with the root of *capio, capulus*). But cod. H. reads *κοπώ*, as did the first hand in cod. A.; and *κοπώ* would presumably mean "the thing cut" (from the root of *κόπτειν*), i.e. the branch lopped.

²¹⁸ Ιφικρατίδες were military shoes called after the Athenian general Iphicrates; cp. our "Wellingtons" or "Bluchers."

²¹⁹ On the Theban Apollo Ισμήνιος see Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa, ii., 54.

²²⁰ Codd. A. H. have *χαλαζίου*, which would signify Apollo as the averter of hail-storms (*χάλαζα*, "hail"). Codd. B. C. have²² the meaningless *γαλεξίου*. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa, ii., 72, takes Χαλάζιος to be a by-name of Apollo Ισμήνιος at Thebes; but thinks that Γαλάξιος, a name formed from the place Galaxium on Mt. Libethrius in Bœotia (*ib.*, ii., 45), may be the right reading.

²²¹ Max. Tyr., 8. 8., mentions a similar custom of the Pæonians: Παιονες σέβουσι μὲν Ἡλιον, ἄγαλμα δὲ Ἡλιον Παιονικὸν δίσκος βραχὺς ὑπὲρ μάκρον

stars. At Thebes, as at Delphi, the tenure of this priestly king was reduced from eight years to one. Pausanias²²² says: "The following custom is still to my knowledge observed in Thebes. A boy of good family, handsome and strong, is made priest of the Ismenian Apollo for a year. His title is laurel-bearer, for these boys wear crowns of laurel leaves." Dr. Frazer, in his commentary on this passage, suggests that the Theban laurel-bearing may have commemorated the slaying of the serpent by Cadmus, who was said to have served Ares eight years, as expiation for his offence.²²³ If this be so,²²⁴ the parallel between Theban and Delphic usage is complete; for Thebes, like Delphi, had a tradition that its monster was no mere animal, but a king called Serpent. Palæphatus²²⁵ declares: "The king of Thebes at that time was Serpent, the son of Ares, whom Cadmus slew, thereby obtaining the kingdom," and a fragment of Dercylus,²²⁶ the Argive historian, states "that Harmonia was the daughter of a Theban king named Serpent, and that Cadmus married her after slaying her father." Indeed, an archaic vase in the Louvre collection²²⁷

ξύλον. Cp. the monetary types of Uranopolis in Macedonia. Obv. the sun as a rayed globe or rayed star: sometimes the sun and moon together. Rev. a figure, whose head is surmounted by a spike and a star, sitting on a globe and holding a long sceptre topped by a ball from which hang two fillets (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Macedonia, &c., p. 133 f.).

²²² Paus., 9. 10. 4.

²²³ Apollod., 3. 4. 2. Suid. and Phot. s. v. Καδμεία νίκη.

²²⁴ An argument in favour of Dr. Frazer's suggestion is furnished by a vase from Vulci, now at Berlin, which represents Cadmus attacking the serpent in the presence of Harmonia and various divinities. Cadmus is crowned with laurel; Nike, Athena, and Eros hold laurel-wreaths; Apollo has a laurel-wand; and the blank spaces of the design are filled in with laurel-trees (Roscher *Lex.*, ii., 837 f.). A vase from the Crimea, now at St. Petersburg, also shows Cadmus crowned with laurel before he attacks the serpent (*ib.*, ii., 839).

²²⁵ Palæphat. *de incredib.*, 6.

²²⁶ Dercylus *ap. schol. Eur. Phœn.* 7 = Müller *frag. hist. Gr.*, iv., 387.

²²⁷ Arch. Zeit., 1881, pl. 12, 2 = S. Reinach *répertoire des vases peints*, i., 435, 1.

depicts Cadmus slaying the bearded snake beneath the porch of a palace, which recalls the "kingly dwelling" of the Delphic Serpent.

I would end by anticipating an objection, or rather two objections. If the victors of Delphi and Thebes were really regarded as temporary representatives of the sky-god, why do we hear of Apollo, not Zeus? And why were they crowned with laurel, not oak?

Apollo, it may be surmised, was but the solar form of the sky-god Zeus, a mere differentiation of that deity.²²⁸ As such he would dwell below the earth and thence send up his oracles to men.²²⁹ In short, Apollo was near akin to Hades, the earth-Zeus; and the fact that cults of Hades were so rare in Greece finds its explanation in the popularity of Apollo-worship. At Delphi, if Apollo occupies the foreground, Zeus can at least be recognised in the background. Within the great temple, side by side with the statue of Apollo *Μοιραγέτης*, stood the statue of Zeus *Μοιραγέτης*.²³⁰ And the most cherished relics of the sacred precinct were connected with Zeus. Zeus had here erected the stone that Cronus had vomited forth:²³¹ it was oiled daily and dressed in wool at every festival,²³² being a veritable bætyl (*βαῖτυλος*) of Zeus.²³³ The eagles on the far-famed *omphalos* were those of Zeus.²³⁴ A vase at Vienna²³⁵ shows the *omphalos* flanked by Zeus and Apollo; while another at St. Petersburg²³⁶ represents Themis (?)

²²⁸ Cp. *Folk-Lore*, xv., 274.

²²⁹ *Ib.*, xv., 275.

²³⁰ Paus., IO. 24. 4.

²³¹ Hes. *theog.*, 498 f.

²³² Paus., IO. 24. 6.

²³³ *Etym. mag.*, 192, 6, Hesych. s. v. *βαῖτυλος*, Bekker *anecd.*, 224, IO, Prisc. *inst.*, 7. 32.

²³⁴ Pind. *Pyth.*, 4. 4, and schol. *ad loc.*

²³⁵ Benndorf *Griech. und sicol. Vasenbild.*, p. 78 = Reinach *Rép. des vases peints*, ii., 183, 1.

²³⁶ *Compte rendu de la commission impériale archéol. de Saint-Pétersbourg*, *Atlas*, 1860, pl. 2 = Reinach *op. cit.*, i., 3.

seated by the *omphalos* in conversation with an enthroned Zeus, Apollo being absent altogether. It was Zeus who had established Apollo as his inspired mouthpiece,²³⁷ and the Pythian priestess invoked Zeus immediately before taking her seat on the prophetic tripod.²³⁸ The prominence thus accorded to Zeus at Delphi is readily intelligible if Apollo himself was the solar (and therefore chthonian and mantic) form of the sky-god.

But on this showing one would expect to find Apollo, like Zeus, connected with the oak, not with the laurel, at any rate in the remote past. And that is actually the case. The oldest of the Apolline myths is the story of the god's fight with Python at Delphi. Ovid,²³⁹ after telling it, adds that to keep in memory this signal victory the Pythian games were instituted, and that "whosoever had won with hand or feet or wheel received the honour of oaken foliage (*æsculeæ . . . frondis*): the laurel as yet was not, and Phœbus crowned his brows, fair with their flowing tresses, from the nearest tree." It appears, then, that the laurel had been preceded by the oak at Delphi. Now the earliest worshippers of the Delphic Apollo were "Cretans from Minoan Cnossus";²⁴⁰ and in Minoan Cnossus the oak was regarded as the tree of Zeus.²⁴¹ I infer that the Delphic Apollo had inherited the oak of the Cretan²⁴² Zeus. Agreeably to this we read that, when the Cretans dedicated at Delphi an image of Apollo, it was simply a natural bough.²⁴³

²³⁷ Aesch. *Eum.*, 17 ff.

²³⁸ *Ib.*, 28 f.

²³⁹ Ov. *met.*, I. 445 ff.

²⁴⁰ *Hymn. Hom. Ap. Pyth.*, 218.

²⁴¹ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 405 ff.

²⁴² Note also the legend that the second temple of Delphi was built by one Pteras, after whom Apteraei in Crete was named (Paus., IO. 5. 10).

²⁴³ Pind. *Pyth.*, 5. 42, calls it *τὸν μονόδροπον φύτόν*, i.e. the statue "which had been torn away with a single wrench (cp. Hesych. *μονορρήξ* · ἀπερρηγμένος, ἀπεστασμένος) having grown" into shape on the tree. Herwerden (*Lex. suppl. s.v. μονόξυλος*) would read *μονόδροπον τύπον*, "a figure carved from one block

Eumelus the epic poet in his *Europia*, which must have described the fortunes of the Cretan Zeus, "spoke of the image of Apollo at Delphi as a pillar in the lines:—

δόφρα θεῷ δεκάτην ἀκροθίνιά τε κρεμάσαιμεν
σταθμὸν ἐκ ζαθέων καὶ κίονος ὑψηλοῖο.”²⁴⁴

“That we might for the god hang up a tithe and a trophy
on his holy walls and his high pillar.”

In other words, at Delphi as elsewhere²⁴⁵ the sacred tree was represented by a column, a fact which throws fresh light on two at least of the problems connected with the Delphic cult.

Zeus in the Libyan Oasis had an oracular oak, which in process of time withered away.²⁴⁶ Q. Curtius Rufus²⁴⁷ the historian, writing in the first century of our era, describes the cult-object in the Ammonium not as a sacred oak, nor even as a high pillar, but as “closely resembling an *omphalos*.” I would suggest the same origin for the *omphalos* at Delphi, *viz.*: that it was the relic of a sacred stump or tree. This accords with the elongated shape that it has on certain vases.²⁴⁸ It also accounts for several other peculiarities of this much-debated object. The eagles of

of oak”; but the analogy of the dry log (*αῦλον ξύλον*) dedicated in the sanctuary of Apollo Δύκιος at Sicyon (Paus., 2. 9. 7) renders it unnecessary to suppose that the bough was carved at all.

²⁴⁴ Clem. Al. *strom.*, 1. 164. The couplet cited by Clement hardly proves his point: but he had access to the context, which we have not. Bötticher (*Baumkultus*, p. 227) accepts his statement on the ground that other representations of Apollo as a pillar are known (*ib.* fig. 53 c, d, e). Apollo at Amyclæ “resembled a bronze pillar” (Paus., 3. 19. 2).

²⁴⁵ See *e.g.* A. Evans, “Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult,” in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, xxi 9 ff. Sacred oaks thus treated are described in *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 271, 407 413 f., xviii., 85 f., 88, 370.

²⁴⁶ *Folk-lore*, xv., 295, n. 216.

²⁴⁷ Curt. 4. 7. 23, id, quod pro deo colitur, non eandem effigiem habet, quam vulgo diis artifices accommodaverunt: *umbilico maxime similis* est habitus, smaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus.

²⁴⁸ *E.g.*, *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, viii., 16 f., figs. 4—6, Baumeister *Denkmäler*, ii., 1009, fig. 1215, “in Art einer verkürzten Säule.”

Zeus appear, one on either side of it, in a marble relief from Sparta²⁴⁹ and on coins of Megara²⁵⁰ and Cyzicus,²⁵¹ while a coin of Patara²⁵² and a Græco-Etruscan cist²⁵³ show a single eagle perched on the top of it. This disposition of the birds recalls that of the doves at Dodona,²⁵⁴ where Zeus still had a living oak-tree, not a petrified stump. The *omphalos* was decked with prophylactic fillets,²⁵⁵ and fillets dangle from the apex of Apollo-pillars on coins of Ambracia²⁵⁶ and Apollonia in Illyria.²⁵⁷ The *agrenon* or net-work of wool, in which the *omphalos* was dressed,²⁵⁸ was a mere mesh of fillets and is found in combination with them on the *xoanon* of Zeus at Mylasa. Lastly, the word *omphalos* (ομφαλός) itself has been rightly connected with *ompha* (ομφά) the "oracular voice,"²⁵⁹ and again points to an oak like that of Dodona.²⁶⁰ I take it, then, that the common art-type of

²⁴⁹ *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, viii. 14, fig. 2, after *Mittheil. Arch. Inst. Ath.*, 1887, pl. 12.

²⁵⁰ P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.*, pl. A, 9.

²⁵¹ *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, viii. 14, fig. 1, after *Num. Chron.*, ser. III., vii., pl. 1, 23.

²⁵² Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Apollo Münztaf. 5, 6, cp. *ib.* 10.

²⁵³ Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.*, i., 320 f., fig. 383, cp. Reinach *Rép. des vases peints*, i., 313, 3.

²⁵⁴ See the bronze coin of Epirus figured in *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 408, fig. 4. Most authors speak of three doves at Dodona (Jebb on Soph. *Trach.*, p. 204); but Sophocles mentions two (*Trach.*, 172), and Philostratus Major one (*imagg.*, 33. 1).

²⁵⁵ Eur. *Ion.*, 225 στέρμασί γ' ἐνδυτόν, Strab. 420 τεταινιωμένος, cp., e.g., Baumeister *Denkmäler*, i., 104, fig. 110, ii., 1009, fig. 1215, 1110, fig. 1307.

²⁵⁶ Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Apollo Münztaf. 8 1, 1—3. ²⁵⁷ *Ib.*, 1, 7.

²⁵⁸ M. W. de Visser *de Gr. diis non referentibus speciem humanam*, p. 64 ff.]

²⁵⁹ Cp. εἰώμφαλος = εἴσομος from ομφά = οὐμῆ. There is then no connection between the Delphic *omphalos* and δημαλός, "navel," except by popular etymology.

²⁶⁰ Argos too had an oracular δημαλός (*Berl. philol. Wochenschr.*, Nov. 19, 1904, p. 1504). The name Ομφαλες occurs in an inscription from Dodona (Collitz, *Sammlung der griech. Dialektinschriften*, 1347). There was a plain near Cnossus called Ομφάλιον (Call. h. *Iov.*, 45, *alob.*); and towns in Epirus (Ptol., 3. 14. 7) and Thessaly (Steph. Byz. s. v. Ομφάλιον and Παράβατοι) bore the same name. In each case the cult of an oak-Zeus existed within easy reach, viz., at Argos, Cnossus, Dodona, and Scotussa respectively.

Apollo seated on his *onūphalos*²⁶¹ is comparable with that of Zeus Φελχαύος seated on his tree-trunk:²⁶² indeed, a unique Cretan coin at Glasgow²⁶³ actually represents Apollo seated on a stump—a striking parallel to the Zeus of Phæstus.

The brilliant discoveries of Mr. A. Evans at Cnossus have enabled us to trace the evolution of another Apolline symbol—the tripod. The Cretan Zeus, to whom Apollo approximated, had in Minoan times a group of three sacred trees, which were conventionalised into a triad of pillars.²⁶⁴ These pillars were connected by a top-piece, serving sometimes as a libation-table,²⁶⁵ sometimes as a seat-like receptacle,²⁶⁶ sometimes as a bowl.²⁶⁷ Mr. Evans justly remarks²⁶⁸ that this last variety supplied the prototype of such tripods as the Oxford specimen²⁶⁹ or that dedicated to Apollo at Delphi out of the spoils taken at Plataea,²⁷⁰ in which the divinity finds an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic expression. Plainly, therefore, the ordinary domestic tripod was a convenient substitute for the bœtylic triad, and this is its true significance in the Apolline cult.²⁷¹ Apollo seated on his

²⁶¹ E.g., Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Apollo Münztaf. 3, 35-43.

²⁶² *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 413 fig. 8.

²⁶³ G. Macdonald, *Cat. of Gk. coins in the Hunterian collection*, ii., pl. 43, 7.

²⁶⁴ *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, xxi., 138-143, *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 406 ff., fig. 3.

²⁶⁵ *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, xxi., 114 fig. 7.

²⁶⁶ *Ib.*, 115 fig. 9, 116 fig. 11.

²⁶⁷ *Ib.*, 117 fig. 14. ²⁶⁸ *Ib.*, 118.

²⁶⁹ *Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, xvi., 275 ff., pl. 12.

²⁷⁰ V. Duruy *Hist. Greece*, ii., 490 f. The description in Hdt., 9. 81, ὁ τρίποντος . . . ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου ὄφος is inexact. The central stem of the tripod is formed by a coil of three separate snakes.

²⁷¹ Miss J. Harrison has suggested to me in conversation that the famous Delphic symbol E, concerning which Plutarch wrote his whimsical tractate *de ēl apud Delphos*, was simply a sacred sign for the bœtylic triad, and should therefore be written as W or M. The former arrangement is supported by the triad of bœtylic pillars found at Cnossus, which were conjoined at the base (*Class. Rev.*, xvii., 407 fig. 3). The latter has the analogy of the Apolline tripod in its favour. I incline to think that this view is decidedly more probable than the explanation which I put forward in *Folk-Lore*, xiv., 287 f.

tripod²⁷² was tantamount to Apollo seated on his *omphalos*. Again, we have seen that the cult of the Pelasgian oak-Zeus gave rise to the names *Triopas* and *Triops*.²⁷³ It is, then, a fair conjecture that the Pythagoreans, who preserved so much Pelasgian lore, called the Delphic tripod *triops*²⁷⁴ because it was originally the symbol of the Pelasgian oak-god. Well might bronze tripods be given as prizes at the games of Apollo Τριόπτος,²⁷⁵ whose cult had been founded by the Thessalian Triopas.²⁷⁶

But Delphi was not the only place where Apollo was connected with the oak. A fine tetradrachm of Catana signed by the artist Chœrion, shows a full-faced head of Apollo crowned with oak-leaves and flanked by bow and lyre.²⁷⁷ Golden crowns of oak-leaves were dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delos by Lysander and L. Cornelius Scipio.²⁷⁸ Beside Zeus Ἀσκραῖος, oak-god of Caria and Lydia,²⁷⁹ we find Apollo Ἀσκραῖος, oak-god of Phrygia.²⁸⁰ Homer describes Apollo as leaning against an oak outside the walls of Troy²⁸¹ or perching in the form of an eagle on the oak of his father Zeus.²⁸² At Miletus too Apollo was called Δρύμας or Δρυμαῖος, the god "of the oak-wood."²⁸³ To one interesting cult-title we can unfortunately assign no locality. Two consecutive glosses in the lexicon of

²⁷² E.g., Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, i., 102 fig. 108.

²⁷³ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 288 f.

²⁷⁴ Hesych. s.v. τρίοψ.

²⁷⁵ Hdt., i. 144.

²⁷⁶ Diod., 5. 61.

²⁷⁷ G. F. Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, p. 132 f., pl. 9, 4, from a specimen in the Hunterian collection at Glasgow.

²⁷⁸ Dittenberger *Sylloge*,² 588, 7 and 100.

²⁷⁹ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 296.

²⁸⁰ Menander Laodic. περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν in Walz *rhetores Græci*, ix., 329, 26.

See *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 416.

²⁸¹ *Iliad*, 21. 549.

²⁸² *Iliad*, 7. 58 ff.

²⁸³ Δρύμας Lyc. *Alex.*, 522, with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, cp. Strab., 321: Δρύμαιος schol. vet. *ad Lyc. Alex.*, 522, cp. Tzetz. *ib.* Δρημαῖος.

Hesychius run: Ἐρίφυλλον· τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὸν Ἐρμῆ and ἐρίφυλλος δρῦς· ἡ πλατύφυλλος, καὶ ἡ καλουμένη φελλός, i.e. “*The very-leafy*, a title of Apollo and of Hermes” and “*The very-leafy oak*, the broad-leaved species, and the so-called cork-oak.” From this it is clear that the Greeks had a cult of Apollo named after a particular variety of oak-tree. Again, the connection between Apollo and the oak comes out clearly in the myth of Dryope.²⁸⁴ Dryops, king of Ετα, the son of Spercheüs and Polydora,²⁸⁵ had an only daughter Dryope, who tended her father's flocks. The Hamadryads loved her exceedingly and taught her how to hymn the gods and to dance. Apollo, who saw her dancing, was enamoured of her and, to attain his ends, became first a tortoise, which she fondled and put into her bosom, and then a snake. The second change scared away the nymphs, who left Dryope and her lover alone. Shortly afterwards Dryope was wedded to Andræmon, son of Oxylus; but the result of her union with Apollo was the birth of Amphissus. He grew to man's estate, built the town of Ετα, and established a temple of Apollo in Dryopis. When Dryope visited this temple, the Hamadryads carried her off and hid her in the forest. In her place they caused a poplar to spring from the ground and a fountain to gush forth beside it. Dryope now became a nymph. Amphissus founded a Nymphæum in her honour and a contest in running, which is still kept up. From this contest women are excluded, the reason given being that, when Dryope was carried off by the nymphs, two maidens revealed the fact to the natives of the land and thus incurred the anger of the nymphs, who transformed them into fir-trees.

In this myth Dryope, the “*oak-maiden*,” is replaced by a *poplar*—a change that we have already met with in the

²⁸⁴ Ant. Lib., 32, from the Ἐτεροιωνύμενα of Nicander.

²⁸⁵ Another version made Dryops the son of Apollo and of Dia, a daughter of Lycaon (schol. Ap. Rhod., 1. 1283, *Etym. mag.*, 288, 34, Tzetz. *ad Lyc. Alex.*, 480)

case of Zeus at Olympia, Lepreum, Sardes, and Cnossus.²⁸⁶ The same transition occurs in connection with Apollo himself. We have seen him as an oak-god. It remains to see him as a poplar-god. A Roman coin of Alexandria Troas shows Apollo Σμυνθεύς standing before a poplar-tree with a tripod in front of him.²⁸⁷ Another coin of Apollonia in Illyria, struck by Caracalla, represents the statue of Apollo inside his temple, behind which appear the tops of three poplar-trees.²⁸⁸ The local cult was primitive in character; for autonomous coins of the town figure an aniconic Apollo-column crowned and filleted.²⁸⁹ I would suggest, therefore, that the three poplars visible on the coin of Caracalla are a triad of sacred trees, in which the deity was thought to reside.²⁹⁰ Apollo himself was probably represented by a priestly king with an annual tenure. For Herodotus²⁹¹ states that the cattle of the sun-god were kept there by the richest and noblest of the citizens, who mounted guard over them, each man for a year in turn. So sacrosanct was the man in charge that, when the citizens blinded one Evenius for neglect of his duties, their flocks and fields became barren, and oracles from Dodona and Delphi bade them make ample restitution to the injured man. This Evenius and his son Deiphonus had the gift of prophecy. The Apolloniates regarded Apollo as the founder of their town:²⁹² when, therefore, Nero on coins of Apollonia describes him-

²⁸⁶ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 297 f.

²⁸⁷ Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Apollo Münztaf. 5, 32, from a specimen in Imhoof's collection. The oak too perhaps figured in the local myths of Alexandria Troas: for a coin struck there under Commodus represents a herdsman with *chlamys* and *pedum* and a horse beneath a clearly-defined oak-tree (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Troas, p. 17, pl. 5, 7).

²⁸⁸ Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Apollo Münztaf. 4, 36, from a specimen in Imhoof's collection.

²⁸⁹ Overbeck *ib.* Münztaf. 1, 4-8.

²⁹⁰ *Supra*, p. 416, n. 264.

²⁹¹ Hdt., 9. 93 f.

²⁹² Paus., 5. 22. 3.

self as 'Α. κτίστης,²⁹³ he is presumably perpetuating the same tradition of a priestly king who personated the god.

Apollo, then, in several of his most primitive cults, was connected with the oak or poplar, the *aīγειρος*—a word which meant “oak” before it meant “poplar.”²⁹⁴ In view of this fact I would venture to propound a fresh derivation of Apollo’s name. The oldest form of the name seems to have been *’Απέλλων*. Festus²⁹⁵ assertion that “the ancients used to say *Apello* for *Apollo*” is borne out not only by the occurrence of *’Απέλλων* in the inscriptions of Laconia, Megara, Corinth, Crete, Pamphylia, &c., but also by the fact that there was a month called *’Απελλαῖος* at Delphi, Heraclea, Tauromenium, Macedonia, Lamia, Panticapæum, Phanagoria, Mylasa, Palmyra, Telanissus, &c., while such names as *’Απελλῆς*, *’Απελλαῖος*, *’Απελλίκων*, were spread far and wide through the Greek world.²⁹⁶ Hence most recent investigators have started from *’Απέλλων* as the “Grundform.”²⁹⁷ I would therefore derive *’Απέλλων* from the word *ἀπελλόν*, of which Hesychius says: *ἀπελλόν· αἴγειρος, ὃ ἔστι εἶδος δένδρου, i.e., “Apellon, a poplar, a kind of tree.”*

An important inscription found at Delphi in 1895 records certain enactments of the Labyadæ, an ancient Delphic phratry.²⁹⁸ It appears that a festival named *’Απέλλαι* was celebrated in the first Delphic month *’Απελλαῖος*, which corresponded roughly with our July. The festival bore some resemblance to the Athenian Apaturia. Victims called *ἀπελλαια* and loaves called *δαράται* were then brought, the

²⁹³ Head, *Hist. num.*, p. 266.

²⁹⁴ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 297.

²⁹⁵ Paul. exc. Fest., p. 19, Lindemann “*Apellinem antiqui dicebant pro Apollinem.*”

²⁹⁶ For references see Pauly-Wissowa, ii., 1, G. Meyer *Griech. Grammatik*,³ p. 64 f.

²⁹⁷ See O. Hoffmann *Die griech. Dialekte*, iii., 271.

²⁹⁸ Dittenberger *Sylloge*,² 438, Michel *Recueil*, 995.

latter apparently on behalf of girls at their marriage and of infants received into the phratry. The inscription gives us more than one formula of swearing used by the Labyadæ, whose oaths prove that they recognised a triad of gods, Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollo. We have met with the same triad before²⁹⁹ as a variation on the original Zeus-triad, *viz.* Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades. I am thus strengthened in my belief that Apollo at Delphi was the chthonian³⁰⁰ form of the sky-god, in a word the local Hades. But this in turn supports my contention that he was a poplar-god. For the poplar, as Bötticher³⁰¹ has shown, was the tree sacred to Hades. Suidas³⁰² states that it was "a chthonian tree," adding that it was said to grow on the banks of the Acheron and hence was called Ἀχερωτός in Homer.³⁰³ Some held that the ἀχερωτός was a kind of oak³⁰⁴; but it was commonly identified with the white poplar or λεύκη. Its legend is told by Servius.³⁰⁵ Leuce, daughter of Oceanus, the fairest of all nymphs, was loved by Pluto, who carried her off to the world below. With him she spent her life; and, when in due time she died, he solaced his love by causing the tree λεύκη to grow in the Elysian fields. If my speculations are in the main correct, Hades the lover of Λεύκη is to be identified, not only with Zeus Λευκαῖος, but also with Apollo the god of the poplar (*ἀπελλόν*).

The foregoing argument is strengthened by the fact that the same alternatives, oak and poplar, occur in the case of other solar personages. The Heliades, daughters of the

²⁹⁹ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 279.

³⁰⁰ Porphyrius *ap.* Serv. *in Verg. ecl.*, 5. 66, declares "triplicem esse Apollinis potestatem : et eundem esse Solem apud superos, Liberum patrem in terris, *Apollinem apud inferos.*" Vediovis, the chthonian form of the Roman Jupiter, "was commonly said to be Apollo" (Gell., 5. 12. 12).

³⁰¹ Bötticher, *Baumkultus*, p. 441 ff.

³⁰² Suid. *s. v.* λεύκη.

³⁰³ Cp. *Etym. mag.*, 180, 49 ff., Serv. *in Verg. Aen.*, 5. 134.

³⁰⁴ Schol. *Il.*, 16. 482 φῆγοῦ εἶδος.

³⁰⁵ Serv. *in Verg. ecl.*, 7. 61.

Sun, were transformed according to one account into oaks,³⁰⁶ according to the usual version into poplars.³⁰⁷ Heracles too, whose relation to Zeus I hope to examine on another occasion, had solar powers,³⁰⁸ and he likewise is connected with oak and poplar. On the one hand, he planted two oaks beside the altars of Zeus Στράτιος in Pontus,³⁰⁹ and founded a cult of Aphrodite Πασιφάεσσα in Thessaly beneath an evergreen oak.³¹⁰ His toils and troubles were foretold to him by his father's oak at Dodona.³¹¹ He was, according to Callimachus,³¹² apotheosised in Phrygia beneath an oak-tree. His pyre on Mount ΟEta was built of oak and wild-olive.³¹³ A branch of oak was an acceptable gift to him;³¹⁴ and his club is surrounded on coins by a wreath of oak-leaves.³¹⁵ On the other hand, Heracles was said to have brought the white poplar from the banks of the Acheron in Thesprotis,³¹⁶ and the white poplar was his favourite wreath.³¹⁷ A bronze statuette of Heracles,

³⁰⁶ Roscher *Lex.*, ii., 2588.

³⁰⁷ *Ib.*, i., 1983.

³⁰⁸ Heracles forced Helios to lend him the golden cup in which he used to cross the ocean (Pherecydes *ap.* Athen., 470 c., Apollod., 2. 5. 10, cp. the vase-paintings in Roscher *Lex.*, i., 1995, Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. Ant.*, iii., 93 fig. 3763); and at Megalopolis there was a statue of Helios "surnamed Saviour and Heracles" (Paus., 8. 31. 7). Macrobius' identification of Heracles with the sun is based on evidence drawn from Tyre, Egypt, and Gades (Macrobius, *Sat.*, 1. 20. 10): on Heracles = the Tyrian Melqart see Roscher *Lex. s. v.* "Melqart"; and on Heracles = the Egyptian Shu see Stein *ad Hdt.*, 2. 42. Dürrbach in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.*, iii., 110, concludes "Héraclès est comme Apollon un dieu solaire"; Tümpel in Roscher *Lex.*, iii., 886, "Er ist ein Heliosheros . . . zum Sonnengott geworden."

³⁰⁹ Plin. *nat. hist.*, 16. 239.

³¹⁰ [Aristot.] *mir. aust.*, 133, p. 48, 12 Westermann.

³¹¹ Soph. *Trach.*, 171 f., 1166 ff., [Sen.] *Herc. Oet.*, 1477 f.

³¹² Callim. *h. Dian.*, 159, δ γε Φρυγίη περ ὑπὸ δρυν γυῖα θεωθείς.

³¹³ Soph. *Trach.*, 1191 ff., cp. [Sen.] *Herc. Oet.*, 1641 ff.

³¹⁴ Anth. *Pal.*, 6. 351 Callimachus.

³¹⁵ Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins, Ionia, p. 151, pl. 17, 1; *ib.*, Mysia, p. 1, pl. 1, 2.

³¹⁶ Paus., 5. 14. 2, *alib.*

³¹⁷ Theocr., 2. 121, Ov. *her.*, 9. 64, *alib.*

now in the British Museum, represents him wearing a poplar-wreath,³¹⁸ as does a fine marble head in the same collection.³¹⁹ In fact, as Virgil³²⁰ puts it, “*populus Alcidæ gratissima.*” Hence in the Rhodian Tlepolemea—games held in memory of Tlepolemus son of Heracles—the victor’s wreath was of white poplar.³²¹

Another surrogate of the oak was the laurel, or, to speak more accurately, the bay. Professor J. R. Green informs me that the species of oak most likely to flourish in northern Greece, the *quercus ilex* or holm-oak, bears a decided resemblance to the bay. He has kindly furnished me with specimen leaves of the two trees, and points out that they approximate to each other alike in shape and in colour. The bay-leaf, like the *ilex*-leaf, is ovate-lanceolate, the former being minutely dentated, the latter minutely serrated. Both have a glossy dark-green upper-surface and a lighter under-surface. In fact, the untrained observer might readily confuse the two. It should also be noted that the Delphic bay came from Tempe,³²² where it was called *δυαρεῖα*,³²³ a name perhaps comparable³²⁴ with δάρυλλος, the Macedonian word for “oak.”³²⁵ Indeed, various philologists have held that names of the laurel or bay are related to names of the oak.³²⁶ If that be so, we have found an

³¹⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes*, p. 219, No. 1297, “a poplar-wreath (?)”

³¹⁹ Roscher *Lex.*, i., 2166.

³²⁰ Verg. *ecl.*, 7. 61.

³²¹ Tzetz. in Lyc. *Alex.*, 911, schol. rec. Pind. *OI.*, 7. 141.

³²² Schol. Pind. *Pyth.*, p. 298 Böckh, Paus., 10. 5. 9.

³²³ Hesych. s. v. *δυαρεία*.

³²⁴ If we may assume that *δυαρεία* should be written *δαρνεία*. But *non liquet*.

³²⁵ Hesych. s. v. δάρυλλος.

³²⁶ So L. Meyer *vergl. Gram.*,² i., 70, Hoffmann *Gr. Dial.*, ii., 429, Lindsay *Lat. lang.*, p. 286, cp. Schrader *Reallex.* p. 505, Stoltz *Hist. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.*, i., 235. The names in question are: (a) *Oak*. Hesych. δάρυλλος • ἡ δρῦς ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. Irish *dair*, *daur*. (b) *Laurel*. Lat. *laurus*. Hesych. λάφνη • δάφνη. Περγαῖοι. Hesych. δυαρεία • ἡ ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσσι δάφνη . τ

adequate answer to our second question: Why was the Delphic victor crowned with laurel, not with oak? We reply with some confidence that the laurel or bay was a recognised substitute for the oak.

One more botanical point, and I have done. In Greece special importance was attached to mistletoe (*iξός*) growing on the oak. Ion³²⁷ the tragedian in his *Phœnix* or *Cæneus* called mistletoe, "the sweat of the oak," just as Antiphanes³²⁸ the comedian in his *Aphrodisius* called wine "the sweat of the Bromian spring," i.e. of the vine. The implication is perhaps that the mistletoe was the concentrated essence, or life-blood of the oak. This assumption at least enables us to understand the part played by mistletoe in myth and cult. The good ship Argo was not only fitted with a fragment of Dodonæan oak,³²⁹ but also, according to Alexander Polyhistor,³³⁰ constructed of wood from the "lion"-tree, which he described as a tree like the mistletoe-bearing oak: it could not, he said, be destroyed by water or by fire³³¹ any more than the mistletoe can. If, as I have already supposed,³³² the Argo or Zeus-ship was a mythical expression for the sun, it may be that the mistletoe was credited with special

δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Δηλία. Michel 1128 (Thessaly) ἀρχιδαυχναφορεῖσας. Collitz 1329 (Thessaly) Δαυχναῖ[ου]. Alcman *frag.* 17 Bergk⁴ δαυχνοφόρον. Hesych. δαυχμόν · εὐκανστον ξέλον δάφνης. Schol. Nicand. *ther.* 94, 'Αντίγονος δὲ λέγει δαύχμου, ἔστι δὲ δάφνη πικρά. Nicand. *ther.* 94 δάνκον, alex. 199 δάνκον with context.

³²⁷ Ion *ap.* Athen. 45 D. For Cæneus as the Greek Balder see *Class. Rev.*, xviii., 82.

³²⁸ Antiphanes *ap.* Athen., 449 c.

³²⁹ *Folk-Lore*, xv., 270.

³³⁰ Alexander Polyhistor *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.*, 13. 119, Alexander Cornelius arborem leonem (so codd. M. D.: eonem codd. r. v.) appellavit ex qua facta esset Argo, similem robori viscum ferenti, quæ neque aqua neque igni possit corrumpi, sicuti nec viscum, nulli alii cognitam, quod equidem sciām.

³³¹ On mistletoe as a means of extinguishing fire consult Plin. *nat. hist.*, 33. 94.

³³² *Folk-Lore*, xv., 270.

solar powers. The name "lion"-tree points in the same direction, for the lion was a common symbol of the sun.³³³ Again, Ptolemæus,³³⁴ who records the Rhodian version of the myth of Helen, *viz.*, that she was the daughter of the sun and hanged herself on an oak, mentions in the same context that she went by the name of *Λεοντή*, "Lioness." One of her suitors was called *Λεοντέυς*, "Lion,"³³⁵ so that once more we find the sun connected with the lion, and both of them with the oak. Further, there is reason to believe that in Rhodes the mistletoe stood in close relation to the sun. For, not only was there a cult of Mistletoe Apollo (*Ίξιος Ἀπόλλων*) at Ixai, a Rhodian town named after the mistletoe;³³⁶ but Leonteus, the suitor of Helen was by some³³⁷ regarded as the father of Ixion, whose

³³³ See Preller-Robert, p. 455, Gruppe, p. 798 f. The former quotes from Clem. Alex., *protr.*, 47, p. 41 Potter, the statement that at Patara in Lycia the statues of Zeus and Apollo had lions set beside them. Cp. the rock-cut lion inscribed *'Απόλλων Στεφανηφόρῳ* in the precinct of Artemidorus at Thera (*Inscr. Graec.*, xii., 3 suppl. 295 f., no. 1346). The latter cites Ael. de nat. an., 12. 7, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἄγαν πυρῷδές ἔστι, οἶκον Ἡλίου φασὶν εἶναι, Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.*, 1. 720, Persæ in speleis Solem colunt est autem ipse Sol leonis vultu cum tiara Persico habitu et utrisque manibus bovis cornua comprimens, &c., Lyd. de mens., 1. 22, ὅτι ἔφερον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολέμων Διὸς καὶ Ἡλίου καὶ Σελήνης, Ἐρμοῦ τε καὶ Ἄρεος σύμβολα· καὶ Διὸς μὲν ἀετόν, Ἡλίου δὲ λέοντα, Σελήνης δὲ βοῦν, Ἄρεος δὲ λύκον, Ἐρμοῦ δὲ δράκοντα, Serv. in Verg. *georg.*, 1. 33, sciendum deinde est voluisse maiores in his signis [xii] esse deorum domicilia: ut Solis est Leo, Lunæ vero Cancer. Add Macrob. *Sat.*, 1. 20. 12, capti indicaverunt apparuisse sibi leones proris Gaditanæ classis superstantes ac subito suas naves immissis radiis, quales in Solis capite pinguntur, exustas, &c., 1. 21. 16, propterea Aegyptii animal in zodiaco consecravere ea cæli parte qua maxime annuo cursu sol valido effervet calore, Leonisque inibi signum domicilium solis appellant, quia id animal videtur ex natura solis substantiam ducere, &c. Other evidence is collected by Creuzer, *Symbolik*,³ iv., 85, cp. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, ii., 359 ff., Roscher *Lex.* iii. 253 ff., "Nergal als Gott der verzehrenden Sonnenglut und als Löwengott."

³³⁴ Ptolem. *nov. hist.*, 4, p. 189, Westermann.

³³⁵ Apollod., 3. 10. 8, Hyg. *fab.*, 81.

³³⁶ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Ίξια*.

³³⁷ Hyg. *fab.*, 62.

name, as I have elsewhere³³⁸ pointed out, is an obvious derivative of the mistletoe ('Ιξιων from ιξός), and whose nature, as is commonly admitted,³³⁹ was that of a sun-god. Thus both mythology and ritual attest the connection between mistletoe, especially oak-mistletoe, and the sun.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(*To be continued.*)

/ ³³⁸ *Class. Rev.*, xvii., 420.

³³⁹ Roscher, *Lex.*, ii., 770.

NOTES FROM ARMENIA,
IN ILLUSTRATION OF *The Golden Bough.*

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, LL.D.

THE following Notes are the result of inquiries recently prosecuted by myself during a journey in Asia Minor. The matter which they contain is not necessarily new, and is necessarily slight, owing to my own inexperience as an explorer and folklorist, but a cairn is often built by the stones thrown by successive passers-by; and although the *Golden Bough* is itself a large cairn, and might be thought not to need augmenting, I venture to throw my little contribution on that already monumental "Heap of Witness." In reading Mr. Frazer's volumes, it is a temptation sometimes to think that the evidence is unduly in detail, and that the artistic presentation of the argument suffers from the defect of over-elaboration; but a closer knowledge of the matters discussed convinces one that while there is something to be said in favour of such a grouping and restricting of the evidence as would avoid unnecessary or misleading repetitions, it remains of the first importance that every kind of testimony should be collected even at the risk of repetition, for one never knows where the missing link in the evolution of a belief or of a custom may turn up amongst a series of apparently similar statements. Students of folklore know this so much better than I, that they will easily be able to tolerate my saying from a fresh point of view things which Mr. Frazer has already said from almost every coign of vantage in the whole outspread landscape of human history. And I will do my best to arrange the matters which I have to report so as to place

them in connection with what he has already elaborated in the *Golden Bough*.

The journey to which I refer took me by way of the Russian and Persian frontiers across the middle of Asia Minor to the Mediterranean. The route was in Russia by Batoum and Tiflis to Erivan, and thence to the Persian Frontier. Crossing the Araxes we went first to Khoi, and then across the mountains to Van; from Van by the south of Lake Van to Bitlis and Moush, and through the heart of Kurdistan to Palu and Harpoot. From Harpoot I visited Egin on the Upper Euphrates, and then struck westward to Malatia (the ancient Melitene), from thence southward over the mountains to Adiaman, and crossing the Euphrates at Samsat (the ancient Samosata) reached Ourfa (the ancient Edessa); from Ourfa westward, crossing the Euphrates at Biredjik, and so to Aintab (a few miles to the north of which lies the ancient Doliche, the seat of the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus), and then from Aintab to the sea-coast at Alexandretta.

The object of this journey was in the first instance the inspection of certain orphanages and industrial works for the oppressed Armenian people, in which I am interested. The journey, however, across wide tracts of country seldom visited by Europeans, and the close relation into which one was thrown with the native population, often furnished me with favourable situations for finding out at first hand some of the ancient customs and expiring beliefs of the civilisations of Western Asia.

I begin with the question of *Rain-charms*. The attempt to obtain rain, either for the immediate need or for the more remote need of a coming harvest, is one of the commonest and simplest cases of sympathetic magic. Such are the annual festivals of Adonis, Cybele, &c., and the popular customs of St. George's Day, May Day, &c. Most of the instances are regular calendar festivals, and a part of the established religion of the countries where they

occur. So we will begin with *periodical* religious attempts to secure rain.

Annual Rain-Charm.

Amongst the Armenian people it is the custom, on a particular day in the year, to throw water over one another. The day of this exercise is the Feast of the Transfiguration, and the festival itself is called by the name of Vartevar. Although in its modern form the custom of water-throwing is little more than a sport of boys, the evidence is abundant that the throwing of water was originally a religious exercise, and that it goes back to very early times.

Its religious character is attested by the fact that in the Armenian Churches there is an aspersion of the people by the priests on the Transfiguration festival; while the boys are throwing water out of doors the priests are throwing water indoors; and since the custom prevails all over the Armenian Churches and, as I shall presently point out, in the Syrian Churches also, we have sufficient evidence of the antiquity of the custom, apart from the folklore parallels and the illustrations drawn from other and ancient religions. We are, therefore, entitled to say that there was an ancient annual Rain-Festival, held on a given day in the summer, probably throughout Asia Minor. Now for some details.

The custom can be verified all over Armenia; we found it at Moush, at Pirvan,¹ at Egin,² at Harpoot, at Ourfa, and practically in every place where we made inquiry.

But in no place did they seem to know the meaning of the term *Vartevar*, and when questioned they offered false etymologies, connecting the word with the name Rose

¹ A village not far from Kebana Maden, an ancient mining town on the Euphrates, somewhat lower down than the junction of the Upper Euphrates with the Lower Euphrates or Murad Su.

² A much-desolated city on the Upper Euphrates.

(Arabic *ward*), which in my judgment were *nihil ad rem*.¹ Nor did they know that what they were doing was a rain-charm. In one or two places it seemed to have been confused with the charm *against* rain. Thus we were told that at Sivas, Erzeroum, and some other places, it was the custom to let a pigeon fly, *in remembrance of Noah*. This is not done at Egin, nor could we verify it in other places visited. At Aintab we found that they not only threw water over one another, but that they made a special point of throwing water upon the graves. At Egin, when they throw water, they say, "I didn't see you last Vartevar."

Upon inquiry from the Jacobite Syrians as to whether they had a Vartevar like the Armenians, the reply was in the affirmative, only they differed from the Armenians in keeping the custom upon the Feast of Pentecost instead of the Transfiguration. I think there is no doubt that the custom prevails throughout both the Churches named.

The more intelligent amongst the Armenians said that they thought the custom had come down to them from the worship of Anahid, which preceded their conversion to Christianity; others said that "our fathers did it when they were Fire Worshippers," but this may be only free speculation. With the assistance of a very small knowledge of history, it will be seen that, thus far, the parallel with the rain-charms of the *Golden Bough* is limited to the throwing of water. No parallel has been adduced to the drenching of an image, or of a human being dressed up to represent a tree-spirit or a corn-spirit, though human beings themselves are drenched; nor are there any signs of a sacrifice, animal or human, in connection with the charm. We shall, however, be able to make up the deficient matter when we

¹ Cf. Conybeare, *Key of Truth*, for the list of Armenian festivals perhaps as far back as 425, *Wardawarh*, i.e. Splendour-of-Roses or Rose-resplendent. This was an old Pagan festival of Anahid. On it, says Sahak, the congregations and married priests presented the first-fruits and best of the corn-crop. It was afterwards identified with the Feast of the Transfiguration.

come to the subject of occasional rain-charms, such as are used in times of drought.

Occasional Rain-charms.

The Turks have a rain-charm which consists of throwing pebbles into water. At Egin they gather pebbles and place them in two bags; in their extravagant way, they say that there must be 70,001 pebbles, of which I do not see the meaning. Over these pebbles they say some incantations. The bags are carried down to the Euphrates by two men and suspended in the water. This is done regularly at Egin in dry seasons.¹ At Ourfa the Turks carry stones to be blessed by the Hodja at the Mosque of Abraham. They then take the stones and throw them into the Pool of Abraham (*Birket el Khalil*), where the sacred fish are still kept and fed. This does not seem to vary much from the custom at Egin.

At Ourfa we came across a survival of the custom of throwing a man into the water; for we were told that in dry seasons they dig up the body of a recently buried Jew, abstract the head and throw it into the Pool of Abraham. We shall have another instance, later on, where the head of a sacrificial animal does duty for the whole body.

I come now to a rain-charm which is much nearer to the forms recorded in the *Golden Bough*, which appears to be very widely diffused.

At Egin, when rain is wanted, the boys take two sticks in the form of a cross, and with the addition of some old clothes and a cap they make a rain-dolly. This figure they carry round the town, and the people from the roofs of the houses throw water on it. They call the dolly the "Chi-chi Mama," which they interpret to mean "the drenched mother." As they carry the dolly about they ask, "What does Chi-chi mother want?" The reply is, "She wants wheat, boulgour" (cracked wheat), &c. "She wants

¹ [Cf. W. R. Paton in *Folk-Lore*, xii, 216 (June, 1901).—ED.]

wheat in her bins, she wants bread on her bread-hooks, and she wants rain from God." The boys take up contributions at the rich houses.

At Ourfa the children, in times of drought, make a rain-bride, which they call Chinché-gelin. They say this means in Turkish "shovel-bride." They carry the bride about and say, "What does Chinché-gelin want?" "She wishes mercy from God; she wants offerings of lambs and rams." And the crowd responds, "Give, my God, give rain, give a flood." The rain-bride is then thrown into the water.

At Harpoot they make a man-doll and call it "Allah-potik." I cannot find out the meaning of the last half of this name. The doll is carried about with the question, "What does Allah-potik want?" "He wants rain from God; he wants bread from the cupboard; he wants meat from dish; he wants *boulgour* from bins; salt from the salt-cellars; money from the purse." Then they all cry out, "Give, my God, rain, a flood."

At Trebizond, as we were told, they make a rain-dolly. The children dress it up as a bride and veil its face. They ask money from the people. I was unable to find out whether the dolly was thrown into the sea, which is what one would expect from parallel cases.

Now, in reviewing these instances of annual or of occasional rain-charms, it will be seen that the Turkish charms are sharply divided from those practised by the Armenians and Syrians. They belong to different civilisations and to separate stages of human development. The parallel for the Turkish charms, where stones over which incantations have been said are deposited in a stream or pool, especially a sacred pool, as in the case of the Pool of Abraham at Ourfa, will be found in the cases collected in the *Golden Bough*, vol. i., pp. 109 *sqq.*, which are introduced by the following statement: "Stones are often supposed to possess the property of bringing on rain, provided they be dipped in water or sprinkled with it, or treated in

some other appropriate manner." Instances are given from New South Wales, Central Africa, and Mongolia. Our Turkish cases may now be added to these. The *Golden Bough* gives in connection with these charms the closely related one of water poured over the sacred stone, which leads naturally enough to the rain-charm in which water is poured over a sacred stone image, or in which the image itself is thrown into the water.

To return to the rain-charms reported from Ourfa, we have the singular case (I think it was Turkish) of the exhumation of a Jew, and the throwing of his head into the sacred pool. I was much puzzled over this custom, and do not even now feel able to elucidate it perfectly. The first thing, however, is to collect the parallels. Reference to *Golden Bough*, i., 99 *sqq.*, will show a number of cases "where the rain-charm operates through the dead." For example, in New Caledonia they dig up a dead body and pour water over the skeleton.

In Russia until lately the peasants used to dig up the corpse of some one who had drunk himself to death and sink it in the nearest swamp or lake. An example is given from a village in the Tarashchausk district, where the body of a Raskolnik or Dissenter was dug up, beaten about the head with the exclamation, "Give us rain," while water is poured on the exhumed body through a sieve. Here, then, we have close and convincing parallels to the exhumation of the Edessan Jew. It remains to be seen whether there is any thought of substituting the dead Jew for a living one. All that I am prepared to say at present is that the Edessan parallel should be added to the cases in the *Golden Bough*.¹

Now turn to the Armenian and Syrian cases of water-throwing and of the drenching of the corn-dolly. Most of the cases which I have collected can be seen to belong to a common tradition. But the case of water-throwing at Aintab calls for special notice, because while, in the com-

¹ [Cf. also *Folk-Lore*, xi., 437, and xii., 101, 214.—ED.]

mon sport of the boys, it does not differ from the Vartevár elsewhere in the matter of throwing water on the graves, it is still a serious function. Here again the *Golden Bough* furnishes us with parallels, e.g. (i., 91), "We are told of the Baronga in S. E. Africa that in time of drought the women must, when they have cleansed the wells, go and pour water on the graves of their ancestors in the sacred grove."¹ From this it appears that the Aintab custom is not modern; it must have come down from a primitive rain-charm.

We come now to the ordinary usage of the Vartevár, and to the associated drenching of the rain-dolly. For the general illustration of water-throwing as a rain-charm, we might almost refer to *Golden Bough passim*.

Special cases of interest may be taken from *Golden Bough*, ii., 121: "We have seen that the custom of drenching with water a leaf-clad person, who undoubtedly personifies vegetation, is still resorted to in Europe for the express purpose of producing rain. Similarly the custom of throwing water on the last corn cut at harvest, or on the person who brings it home (a custom observed in Germany and France, and till quite lately in England and Scotland), is in some places practised with the avowed intent to procure rain for the next year's crops. Thus in Wallachia and amongst the Roumanians of Transylvania, when a girl is bringing home a crown made of the last ears of corn cut at harvest, all who meet her hasten to throw water on her, and two farm-servants are placed at the door for the purpose; for they believe that if this were not done the crops next year would perish from drought." And so on, in a number of similar parallels.

¹ Special attention is given to the graves of twins, who are called the children of the sky, and buried near a lake. Mr. Frazer says, "The reason for calling twins Children of the Sky is obscure. Are they supposed to stand in some mysterious way for the sun and moon?" Perhaps the Dioscuri will help to explain the matter.

It remains to discuss the question of the "rain-dolly," or "Chi-chi Mama," or whatever be its real name. This figure I take to be a corn-dolly minus the corn; in ordinary times the corn-maid or corn-mother is drenched at the time of harvest. Thus in the case previously quoted from Wallachia, the drenched maiden with the last ears of corn on her head, personifies the corn-spirit, and is drenched with a view to the next season. But the corn-spirit is also commonly represented in effigy, and this is the form which we have in the Armenian and Syrian rain-charm. It is simply the corn-mother or corn-child out of harvest time, and does not require a separate inventory except under the head of rain-charms. As an effigy it need not be regarded as anything new. When the effigy, as at Harpoot, is regarded as male, it stands for the spirit of vegetation in such forms as the "Green George," the King of the May, and the like. For this spirit may be regarded as either male or female; sometimes it appears as one and sometimes as the other. The drenching of the Harpoot rain-dolly is of the same class as the drowning of the Green Man and a host of similar practices, for which again see *Golden Bough passim*. What made it easy to use the drenched dolly in the *interim* manner required by seasons of drought is at once clear from the consideration that the effigy of the spirit of vegetation was commonly preserved throughout the year. It was thus always on hand to be treated as occasion might require. Cf. *Golden Bough*, ii., 133. "We shall see that the effigy of the corn-spirit, made at harvest, is often preserved till it is replaced by a new effigy at next year's harvest." The Armenian Chi-chi dolls are thus of peculiar interest, for, so far as I have yet inquired, there is no trace of the harvest-doll in Armenia. If there is, I have not found it. It survives from its occasional use in seasons of drought, though, unless I am mistaken, its regular use has been lost sight of. Perhaps a closer inquiry will bring the harvest-doll to light.

The Armenian Candlemas.

I now pass on to examine another important Armenian festival, which corresponds almost exactly to the Western Candlemas, and by contrast with the water-festival described above might perhaps be called a fire-festival. As is well known, the Western Candlemas is celebrated on February 2nd, and has the alternative title of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, on the ground that it is forty days after Christmas Day. But there is some reason to believe that the Purification of the Blessed Virgin is really a substitute for the Lupercalia, one of the last of the Roman festivals to disappear. If that were established the Purification has moved backwards in the calendar, for the Lupercalia properly belongs to February 15th. But then the festival of Christmas appears to have moved back from January 6th, which leaves us very nearly where we were before, for this would bring the Purification to February 14th. The Armenian Candlemas, however, is neither February 14th or 15th, but February 13/26, although as to this date, the duality of which is due to the uncorrected calendar, there is not a perfect agreement. Some said it was February 14/27. There is no doubt about its equivalence with our Western Candlemas. The *Golden Bough* is beforehand with us as to the customs which belong to the festival as the following extract will show.

"In the Armenian Church the sacred new fire is kindled not at Easter, but at Candlemas, that is, on the second of February, or on the eve of that Festival. The materials for the bonfire are piled in an open space near a church, and they are generally ignited by young couples who have been married within the year. However, it is the bishop or his vicar who lights the candles with which the young married pairs set fire to the pile. When the ceremony is over the people eagerly pick up charred sticks or ashes of the bonfire, and preserve them at home with a sort of superstitious veneration."—*Golden Bough*, ii., 249.

Our notes will show something more than the adoration and conservation of the New Fire.

In Moush, on the day in question, they burn wood, and from the smoke derive auguries of plenty or famine for the coming year. They keep the wood ashes and spread them on the fields to make them fruitful. They mix them with water and give the water to sick sheep ; they spread them on the sheep to make them multiply. Bridegrooms and brides jump over the fire (this means young married people, not necessarily persons of quite recent marriage). The people burn their own bodies with the fire, which is reckoned to be holy.

At Pirvan they call the Candlemas festival *Moled* (which appears to be a Syriac word, and to mean either "birthday," or else to be a causative term for what brings to birth). They build bonfires on the roofs of the houses and dance round them, the new bridegrooms of the year taking the lead. They knew nothing about making any use of the ashes from the bonfires. Their explanation of the custom was that "it came down from the time when we were fire-worshippers." But this is their common explanation for peculiar customs. At Egin they light candles in the church and on the roofs of the houses, and every house where there has been a wedding in the previous year has a big bonfire on the roof ; the new bridegrooms dance round the fire, and sometimes the brides dance round the fire also and jump over it. Children less than a year old are carried round the fire and songs are sung over them. Women belonging to houses where bonfires are made give away candles in church and elsewhere. They also give sweets. They do not make any use of the ashes from the bonfire.

At Ourfa the fire-festival is called Meled. There are bonfires everywhere—on roofs, in yards, &c. They call it the *Burning of Winter*.

From the foregoing, with the aid of the *Golden Bough*, it is easy to make parallels with other purificatory rites

belonging to the New Year or other leading festivals, and with the customs of carrying out Death, or carrying out Winter. (See *Golden Bough*, i., 208; ii., 70 *sqq.*, for the custom of carrying out Death, &c.)

There is one other fire-festival traces of which I came across. In the Syrian Church at Ourfa, on the night of the Nativity, they make a bonfire of vine stems in the middle of the church; the explanation which they give is that the fire is kindled in honour of the Magi, who were cold with their journey. This is quite an inadequate explanation of the cult. I do not, however, know the real explanation. It does not seem to be the same as the Candlemas fire.

Animal Sacrifices.

I now pass on to report a few noticeable survivals of animal sacrifice amongst the Armenians.

Mr. Conybeare, whose acquaintance with Armenian history and literature is of the first order, had advised me that such sacrifices were still extant amongst the Armenians, and I was interested to verify the matter for myself. In his *Key of Truth*, p. 115, note 4, he tells us that "the custom of offering victims in church and eating their flesh continues in Armenia and Georgia until to-day. Thus Gregory of Dathev, c. 1375, in his manual condemns the Mahometans because they refused to eat of the Armenian victims." In the same work, p. 134, note i., there is a long passage from Nerses Shnorhali, born c. 1100, and Armenian catholicos 1165, in defence of the custom of sacrificing animals in church in expiation of the sins of the dead. This sacrifice was called Matab, and was said to be for the repose of the dead. If I understand Nerses rightly, the sacrifice was to take place *at the door* of the church, the body of the animal being divided in the following order: (i.) the priests, (ii.) the poor and needy, (iii.) the friends of the offerer.

From a canon of St. Isaac (saec. iv.), quoted by Cony-

beare on the same page, we find that such sacrifices were offered on the leading ecclesiastical festivals. Mr. Conybeare also shows that this *matab* was repudiated by the Paulicians, as an animal sacrifice offered in expiation of the sins of the dead (*Key of Truth*, p. clxiv.).

At Archag, not far to the east of Lake Van, I took the opportunity of inquiring from the priests of the village with regard to this custom. They readily admitted the fact; the sacrifice occurred at leading festivals such as Easter, but especially, if I understood rightly, on the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin. The victims were usually lambs. Their blood was poured out upon the ground and the meat given to the poor. The sacrifice was not, however, performed in the church, but outside. They also informed me that it was done in remembrance of the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham! This statement was confirmed to me elsewhere. I do not know whether there is a memory of human sacrifice lurking in the illustration.

At Egin I found these sacrifices were also made, but especially on the Festival of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 17th this year). They buy sheep from the church funds, collect *boulgour* (cracked wheat), &c., and on leaving the church each person has a piece of bread and meat given to him. The sacrifice does not occur inside the church; some people perform it at their own homes.

From Egin I learned that this festival of the Assumption was also a festival of first-fruits, and that before that time it was not lawful to eat of the new grapes. I did not gather that there was any expiation of the dead in the sacrifice referred to, but it is quite possible that my questions were not suited to elicit this fact, of which the Armenian literature quoted above furnishes decisive evidence. The impression made upon my own mind was that the custom was more like an early Christian *agapé*, and I see that Mr. Conybeare in one place makes a somewhat similar suggestion.

Sin-eating.

Probably there are few questions which have been more hotly debated by folklorists of late years than those which relate to the eating of the sins of a dead person by means of funeral victuals placed on his coffin or in contact with his corpse. The matter is discussed in Sidney Hartland's *Legend of Perseus*, ii., 293 *sqq.*, and he sums up his inquiry as follows: "Thus in our own country we find the relics of a funeral feast, where food is placed upon the coffin, or rather upon the body itself, or handed across it, and where it is expressly believed that by the act of eating some properties of the dead are taken over by the eater." Some doubt has been thrown on part of the Welsh evidence which Hartland brings forward (see *Golden Bough*, iii., 18, note 3); and the case requires further investigation and the confirmation of parallels from other parts of the world.

My contribution to the subject is slight, but not uninteresting; I do not, however, wish to be understood to express a complete belief in the validity of Mr. Hartland's arguments, though they are powerfully reinforced by Frazer (*Golden Bough*, iii., 19). Some further confirmations would be welcome. I have alluded above to a visit which I paid to the Armenian village of Archag. Archag is one of those places that were most fearfully devastated in the massacres of 1896-1897, when for months the only living occupants of the village were the vultures and the dogs and wolves. On the occasion of my visit, I enjoyed with Dr. Reynolds of the American Mission at Van the privilege of Protestant preaching in the old Armenian Church (the preacher being the doctor and not myself). At the evening service, to my great surprise, I found that when the congregation dispersed, a corpse laid out for burial was lying in the midst of the building. It had, in fact, been brought in before we came, and was to lie in the church in preparation for burial next day. I noticed that two large flat

loaves of bread had been placed upon the body. Inquiry as to the meaning of this elicited no other explanation than that the bread was for the church mice and to keep them from eating the corpse. I did not feel satisfied with the explanation. Some months later, on mentioning the incident to some intelligent Armenians in Constantinople, they frankly admitted that in former days the custom was to eat the bread, dividing it up amongst the friends of the deceased. Whether this is a case of sin-eating I leave Mr. Frazer and Mr. Hartland to decide.

Foundation Sacrifice.

Much attention has been given in late years to the custom of establishing the security of a building or the prosperity of a city by means of a sacrifice offered on the foundation or immured in it. These vitalizations and re-vitalizations (for in the case of cities the sacrifice was often renewed annually) are attested for many ancient cities, such as Antioch of Syria, Laodicea of Syria, &c., where a primitive and annually repeated sacrifice of a virgin gave way, in course of time, to the sacrifice of an animal, such as a stag, offered on the birthday of the city. Of such sacrifices it is known that survivals still exist. Perhaps the most amusing survival is the case of the immuring of a live bee on the occasion of the consecration of a new bee-hive, a custom still in vogue in Bulgaria. (See Krauss, *Volks-glaube der Südslaven*, p. 160.)

By a happy accident I stumbled upon a case of foundation sacrifice just where one would have least expected it, viz. in the laying of a foundation of a new Protestant church at Mezreh near Harpoot. During the past summer this progressive step—for it must be clear to any unprejudiced observer in Armenia that Progress and Protestantism are bound up together—was taken by the people, and the American missionaries at Harpoot unwittingly took part in the sacrifice of the foundation. When the usual prayers

and addresses were over the builders sacrificed a lamb in the trench near the foundation stone which had been duly laid, decapitated the animal, and placed its head in the foundation of the building. I suppose we need not hesitate to say that this was a genuine survival from the time when human beings were immured or sacrificed. Has it also been pointed out that the coins which are commonly placed in the foundation are ransom-money for the victim who ought to be there?¹

Those who are interested in collecting the references to foundation sacrifices may like to have the following from the Arabic *Acts of John*. The Apostle John has legendary connection from the earliest time with a bath-house: e.g., there is the story of his running out from a bath because Cerinthus the heretic was in it. The Arabic *Acts* make a similar connection of ideas between St. John and a bath-house, and tell us that "in this bath-house there was a Satanic power, which had dwelt in it *from the first, when it was built; because when the makers laid the foundation they dug in the middle of it and placed a living girl there and heaped up [the wall] over her and built stones for a foundation, and because of this the Satanic power dwelt there, &c.*

Offering of the First-fruits.

The *Golden Bough* has brought out very clearly the existence of a primitive sacrament of first-fruits among almost all peoples of the earth, and the influence of this sacrament upon later religions. The setting apart and

¹ For the foundation sacrifice we may compare *Golden Bough*, i., 292: "Not long ago there were still shadow-traders whose business was to provide architects with the shadows necessary for securing their walls. In these cases the measure of the shadow is looked upon as equivalent to the shadow itself, and to bury it is to bury the life or soul of the man who, deprived of it, must die. Thus the custom is a substitute for the old practice of immuring a living person in the walls, or crushing him under the foundation stone of a new building, in order to give strength and stability to the new structure."

sanctifying of such first-fruits is a religious rite of the first order, and "after partaking of the sanctified fruits, a man is himself sanctified for the whole year, and may immediately get in his crops" (*Golden Bough*, ii., 326, &c.). The custom commonly marks the beginning of a new year amongst the tribe that practises it, and is associated with the purification of the home and the production of the new fire. The custom will, however, vary both as to the time of the year when it is practised and in the manner in which it is carried out, according as the harvest is one of corn, wine, oil, or other products; and in the case of a vintage it may either be the first-fruits of the grapes or it may be the permission to drink the new wine of the year which has been produced from the new grapes.

Thus at Rome, if we may judge from the existence of two festivals by the name of Vinalia in the calendars, April 23rd and August 19th, there was a day in spring for the sanctifying of new wine and a day in autumn for the sanctifying of the ripening grape. (See Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, under *Vinalia*.)

It was my good fortune accidentally to light upon the Jacobite Syrian festival of the consecration of the grapes, and to take part in it. In passing through Adiaman I made the acquaintance of the priest of the old Syrian Church, and was invited by him to assist in the celebration of St. Thomas' day by reading a *sedra* at the Church service. This I consented to do, without reflecting that, even if I could decipher the Syriac of the hymn, I should be quite guiltless of the tune to which it ought to be sung. The result was, as might be expected, an ignominious breakdown, and the going up higher of a more worthy guest, who made the welkin ring with the praises of the apostle. In the course of the service I was surprised to see bunches of new grapes brought forward, offered on the altar with appropriate prayers, and then disintegrated and given, berry after berry, with small fragments of blessed bread,

to the individual worshippers. After the service it dawned upon me that we had been sanctifying the first-fruits, so I asked the priest whether it were unlawful to eat the grapes before St. Thomas' day. At first he evaded my question, but afterwards allowed that such was the case, but that since the advent of Protestantism the prohibition had become inoperative and the sanctification a matter of ridicule.

In order to satisfy myself with regard to this festival, I inquired of the Jacobite priests at Ourfa concerning the time when it was lawful to eat the new grapes. They replied at once that it was lawful on St. Thomas' day, and that on that day twelve new grapes were offered on the altar. The day of the consecration of the grapes, viz. St Thomas' day, was in their Church always the third day of Tammuz. I may mention that the church of Adiaman, of which I have spoken above, must have replaced a pagan sanctuary, for a pagan altar had recently been exhumed from the body of the church, and was now standing near the church door. Unfortunately there was no inscription to suggest the deity that had been replaced. It will be remembered that we have reported above that at Egin the first ripe grapes are sanctified on the Assumption of the Virgin. I suppose the ritual of this service has been published somewhere, though I do not know where, at this moment, to put my hand upon it.

The value of the observations made above lies in the suggestion that we have an actual feast of first-fruits, with its appropriate sacramental partaking of the fruits by the worshippers, incorporated with the service for St. Thomas' day in the Syrian Church, for we may use the language of *Golden Bough*, ii., 335, and say, "The solemn preparation for eating the new fruits, taken together with the danger supposed to be incurred by persons who partake of them without observing the prescribed ritual, suffices to prove that the new fruits are regarded as instinct with a divine

virtue, and consequently that the eating of them is a sacrament or communion."

Holy Trees.

There are a few minor matters that may be worth a passing reference. The existence of holy trees hardly needs to be further demonstrated; they have, however, an especial interest for me, in cases where I have recorded their existence, and none the less because my present dwelling-place (Selly Oak) is evidently the site of an ancient holy tree in England.¹

The first holy oak which I came across in Asia Minor was on the plain of Moush. Its living branches were hung with bits of rag in the conventional manner, it stood in a graveyard, and it was taboo. I found, upon inquiry, that no one would dare to make a fire from the wood, because it was holy.

Elsewhere there were traces of the holy thorn as a sacred tree. One such tree grows in a valley leading up to Harpoot. I watched a woman transfer a rag from her clothing to the tree, after which she threw a stone upon a neighbouring heap. The conjunction of the cairn and the tree was interesting.

Curious Customs connected with Childbirth.

At Egin I found some curious superstitions which can probably be paralleled elsewhere by those who have an acquaintance with the subject.

After a childbirth, and before the conventional forty days have elapsed, they put a pair of shears under the pillow. They say this is done to keep off certain evil spirits called '*Al*', who would otherwise tear out the woman's liver. They also put an amulet with the shears. Sometimes the '*Al*' steals and changes the child. The child must not be taken out of the house during the forty days, unless it be protected

¹ It has left its name on one of the roads, Oak Tree Lane, and on the public-house (the Oak Tree) at the cross-roads.

by making the sign of the Cross over it. When a child is born, a piece of bread is said to be placed under its pillow.

These constitute the little sheaf of first-fruits of my observation which I have ventured to throw upon Mr. Frazer's heavily-laden harvest-wain. Some, knowing the directions in which I have recently been investigating, may perhaps wonder to find nothing on the subject of twins, either heavenly or earthly. The reason is that I am reserving some very interesting and important observations under this head for the second edition of my tract on the Dioscuri, if it should ever reach such a distinction.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

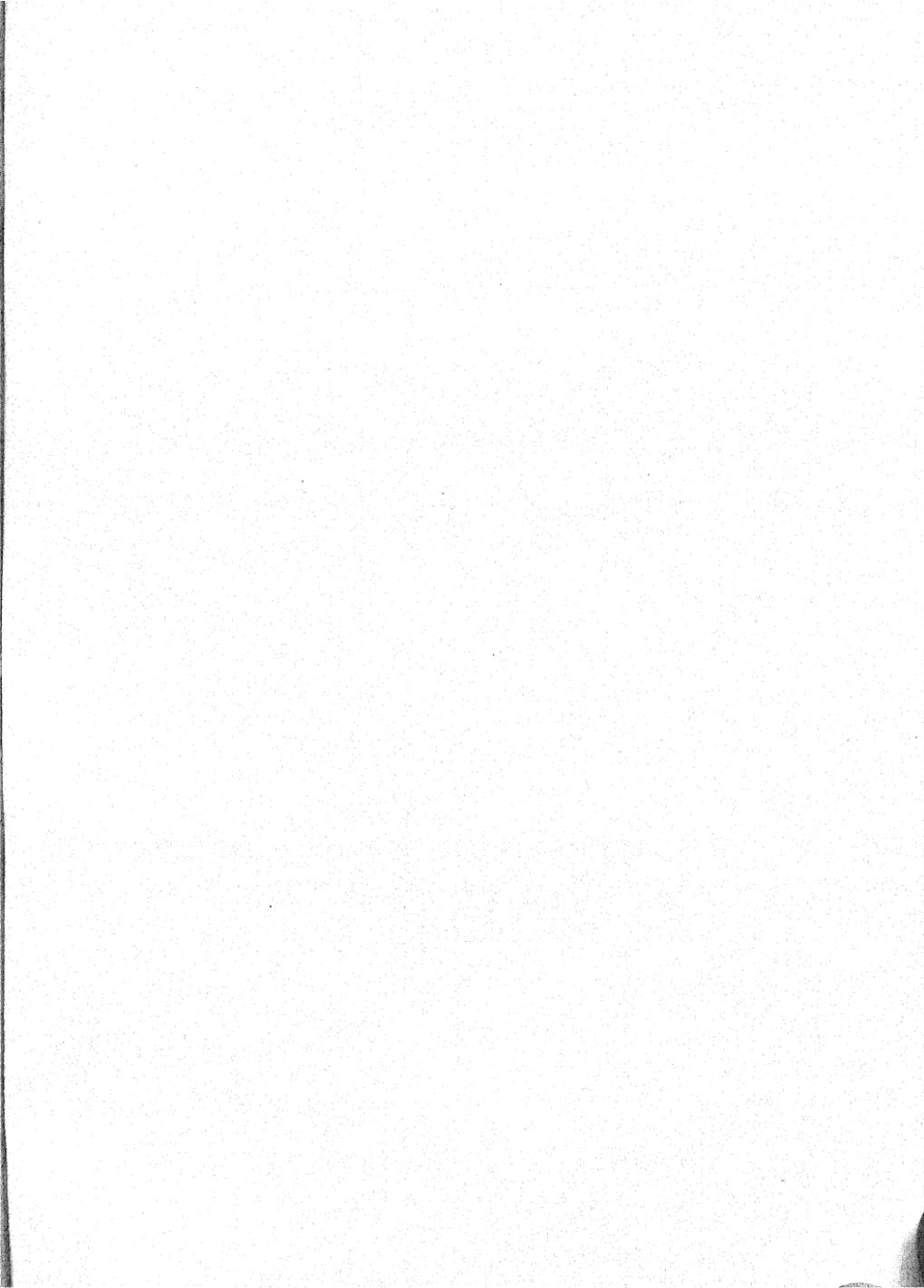
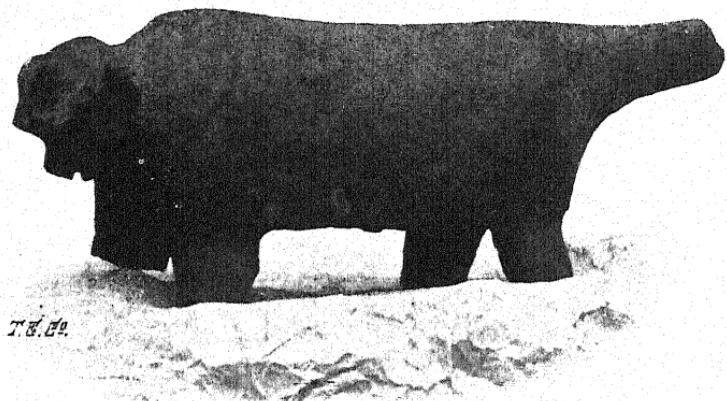


PLATE IX.



A VOTIVE OFFERING FROM KOREA.

To face page 447.

COLLECTANEA.

A VOTIVE OFFERING FROM KOREA.

THE object shown in the plate (IX.) is a votive offering from a shrine on the top of the Charyong Pass, in Korea, about 60 *li* south of Gensan. It was taken (in the interests of science) by my brother, Mr. J. Cole Hartland, from the shrine on the 25th November, 1898. It is a rough iron casting six inches long, nearly two inches high, and weighing about one and a quarter pounds, of an animal, said to be a tiger.

A shrine of some kind is found at the top of every pass in the south and south-east of Asia. Usually it is a mere heap of stones, or of sticks, or leaves, to which the passing traveller is expected to add his contribution. Sometimes, however, it is more pretentious, and attracts more shapely offerings. It is, as a rule, dedicated to the local genius, or divinity. In Mongolia such a shrine is called *obo*, and is consecrated by lamas. The French traveller Poussielgue describes one between Urga and Kiachta, adorned with a statue of Buddha roughly carved from two blocks of stone, beside which a large urn of granite stood for the burning of incense, while around were posts covered with offerings of rags paper, rolls of prayers, even with purses of money and objects made of the precious metals.¹ No traveller may pass over one of these shrines without an offering, however humble, and a prayer. Mr. T. T. Cooper, the author of *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce in Pigtail and Petticoats*, gives an amusing account of how he was married in Eastern Tibet unawares to a girl named Lo-tzung, and compelled, to his annoyance, to take her with him for some distance on his journey. At the top of a hill they reached a large mound of stones. "Lo-tzung," he says, "having contributed

¹ Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen*, vol. i., p. 53, citing Poussielgue.

her quota of stones and prayers, gave me to understand that, in order to secure our future happiness, she must have a couple of Khatah cloths to attach to the flagstaffs ; and there was nothing for it but to unpack one of the baggage-animals, and get out the ‘scarves of felicity (?)’ Having given them to the young lady, I was inwardly congratulating myself that now at least we should be able to continue our march, for the afternoon was wearing, and our station for the night was still distant. But my matrimonial embarrassments had not yet ended. It was necessary for *me* to tie one of the ‘scarves of felicity’ to the flagstaff, and kneel in prayer with my bride. This I peremptorily refused to do ; but poor Lo-tzung shed such a torrent of tears, and informed me in such heart-broken accents that if I did not do this we should not be happy, and that she especially would be miserable, that there was nothing for it but to comply. And there, on the summit of a Thibetan mountain, kneeling before a heap of stones, my hand wet with the tears of a daughter of the country, I muttered curses on the fate that had placed me in such a position.”¹ Mr. Crooke quotes from a traveller in Ladakh an account of “the usual accumulation of stones and rags” on the top of a pass, “to which the Banka had entreated I would contribute, as the omission would offend the genii of the mountain, and would be punished by some awful catastrophe. I accordingly propitiated the spirits of the pass with the leg of a pair of worn-out nankin trousers, and gratified my people by ordering a sheep to be killed for their entertainment when we had reached the foot of the ghât.”²

I have not in my reading found a trace of the dedication at these shrines of a thank-offering. All the offerings, so far as I know, are propitiatory. The tiger—if it be a tiger represented here—may be the form under which the mountain-spirit is conceived. The Korean mountains are infested with tigers, which are greatly feared by the natives. “The number of human lives lost,” says Mr. Griffis, “and the value of property destroyed by their ravages, is so great as at times to depopulate certain districts.” Elsewhere he says of the tiger that the Koreans “not

¹ Cooper, *op. cit.* p. 275.

² *North Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. i., p. 76, quoting Moorcroft and Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayas*.

only ascribe to him all the mighty forces and characteristics of which he is actually possessed, but popular superstition attributes to him the powers of flying, of emitting fire and hurling lightning. He is the symbol of strength and ubiquity, the standard of comparison with all dangers and dreadful forces, and the paragon of human courage. . . . In ancient time he was worshipped.¹

Our information about Korean religion is very vague. One writer, who lived for some years in Korea, goes so far as to say, "In religious matters the Koreans are peculiar in that they may be said to be without a religion, properly speaking."² If we are to understand this literally, we know the value of such assertions. Indeed his own pages show that the Koreans are not without religion. Buddhism was at one time prevalent. Ancestor-worship is certainly practised. In these and other directions the influence of China may be seen. But beneath these comparatively civilised cults there lies that animism which is at the base of all religions, and which peopled Korea, as it has peopled other lands, with a multitude of gods and spirits. Nor have these gods and spirits passed away; on the contrary, they are still worshipped. "The god of the hills," says Mr. Griffis, "is, perhaps, the most popular deity. The people make it a point to go out and worship him at least once a year, making their pious trip a picnic, and, as of old, uniting their eating and drinking with their religion. Thus they combine piety and pleasure, very much as Americans unite sea-bathing and sanctification, croquet and camp-meeting holiness, by the ocean or in groves. On mountain tops, which pilgrims climb to make a visit for religious merit, may often be seen a pile of stones, called *siong-wang-tang*, dedicated to the god of the mountain. The pilgrims carry a pebble from the foot of the mountain to the top. These pilgrims are among those held in reputation for piety."³

Under what form the god of the hills is conceived, Mr. Griffis does not say. If the tiger was worshipped in ancient times it is probable he is worshipped to-day. The passage I have quoted concerning his powers compels the inference. Whether the shrine on the Charyong Pass is dedicated to the tiger, or to the

¹ Griffis, *Corea: the Hermit Nation*, pp. 323 ff.

² Allen, *Korean Tales*, p. 11.

³ Griffis, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

mountain-god under the form of a tiger, I can only guess. One of these alternatives seems likely.

The custom of depositing a stone or a stick or a rag on the shrine is well known all over the world. It is unnecessary to consider it here.

E. S. HARTLAND.

FOLKLORE OF THE NEGROES OF JAMAICA.

(Continued from p. 214. See Prefatory Note, p. 87.)

V.

THE following are chiefly from the southern districts of St. Andrew. An endeavour has been made to render the classification, in some respects, compatible with that indicated by Mrs. Daniel's prospectus.

Those relating to the Human Body.

A mole on the lip, abdomen, leg, or neck indicates a lying tongue, edacity [*sic*], love of travel, and wealth respectively.

Open teeth indicates lechery.

White spots on the finger nails indicate good luck.

A trembling of the lips prognosticates kissing.

"Dancing" of the right or left eye prognosticates laughter or weeping respectively.

If a first born strikes his right foot against a stone it betokens good luck, and *vice versa*. If the person be not first born the left foot is the fortunate one.

If sugar-cane be broken on the knee you will be estranged from a dear friend.

"Ringing" of the ears signifies that somebody is calling your name. If you call the names of your acquaintances successively, you may hit on the one who is calling your name, and the "ringing" will cease.

Friendship, Marriage, and Lovers.

Turning down the hollow of a hat on a table prognosticates a single life.

A rainy wedding-day betokens an unhappy marriage life; and *vice versa*.

If a friend offers a pin, penknife, or pair of scissors to another their friendship will be broken.

If one picks up pins or sits on a table he will for ever be single.

The breaking of a wedding-ring vaticinates an unhappy marriage life.

If lovers offer money to each other they will soon be separated.

Birth and Death.

The flying of crows in funeral procession prognosticates death in the district over which they fly.

The presence of a firefly or the chirping of a cricket in a house betokens sudden death in that house.

The sudden fall of a green tree prognosticates sudden death at the spot.

Cackling of fowls in the early morning, cooing of a ground dove, the flight of crows at twilight, the screeching of an owl, or the crying of a pond-coot at night prognosticates death in a certain vicinity.

The crying of a pond-coot also prognosticates birth.

Miscellaneous.

The flight of swallows in large numbers indicates approaching rain.

Walking on salt in a house prognosticates contention among the members of the family.

If a pair of scissors, a penknife, or a needle falls accidentally from the hand, and sticks up vertically, or two fowls put their beaks together, expect a stranger.

If a promise be made over running water and not ratified the defaulter will encounter a misfortune.

An itching of the palm of the hand betokens the reception of money.

He who eats from a pot will never have a beard.

A man of mediocrity in the spiritual matters of life becomes a "rolling calf" after death, for he is too good for hell and too wicked for heaven.

Cotton trees should never be cut down because they are the abode of spirits, and he who cuts them down will surely die.

If a child comes into the world with a "caul" over the face it will be able to see ghosts.

Before throwing away water at nights we should utter a caution so that spirits may get out of the way.

He who washes the back of a dead person will be for ever haunted by the spirit of the deceased.

E.

VI.

Marriage, Courtship, and Lovers.

If a woman gives a necktie to a man it breaks friendship.

If a young lady gives away a handkerchief she will never marry.

If a lighted thread burns past several knots love is strong between the persons whose names were called at the beginning of the performance.

If a branch of a certain yellow weed grows when thrown upon bush it shows that the person whose hand you are seeking is getting to love you more and more.

A young lady who sits on a table never gets married.

Opening an umbrella over your head in the house prevents you from getting married.

When a young lady's stockings loose down her lover is thinking of her.

If a man's necktie is turned to one side his lover is thinking of him.

If a knife or other cutting implement is given away it cuts love unless a pin is bent.

If a young man turns down his hat on a table he never gets married.

If a young man puts his hat on a bed it prevents him from getting married.

Death, the Corpse, the Funeral.

When ants take a house someone is about to die.

A louse on a clean person's head indicates coming sickness.

The howling of a dog foretells the death of someone.

The lengthy bellowing of a bull foretells the death of someone.

The assembling of many blackbirds together in some place where they do not often frequent foretells the death of someone.

The crowing of a hen foretells the death of someone.

The crying of a cricket in the house foretells the death of one of its occupants.

The screeching of a cricket near to the house foretells the death of a friend of the occupants.

The screeching of owls near to the house foretells the death of someone in the house.

The breaking of a green branch indicates the death of someone near by.

The moaning of a cock indicates the death of someone.

Piecing a house causes the death of someone of its occupants.

If the corpse is not stiff a few hours after the person has died some near relative is going to follow.

If the grave sinks soon after it has been moulded some near relative will follow.

If a person dies with his eyes open someone is going to follow soon.

Good people die and are born again as babies somewhere else or as some good animal.

Wicked people are born again in shape of some savage animal.

The person who shaves the dead must take the razor or he will be haunted.

Knives, pipe and tobacco, &c., should be put in the coffin for future use by the dead.

If you meet a coffin in the road you must return some distance with it or you will be haunted.

When a dead body wishes to go forward is easily carried ; when it does not wish to go gives great trouble [*sic*].

When a good person dies we have a fair day ; when a wicked the day is rainy.

The death of an animal prevents the death of a person.

Vegetation.

If you roast yams the vine is injured.

If you roast breadfruit with the heart the tree will in future bear smaller breadfruit than it used to.

When pepper bears plentifully there will be hard times, scarcity of food.

If you put pepper in your pocket you will become poor.

The Body.

The Ear.—Big ears are signs of riches.

The tingling of the ear tell that some one is calling your name.

The Head.—A bald head indicates coming riches.

The Feet.—If you knock your right foot it is a sign of good luck.

If you knock your left foot it is a sign of bad luck.

The Eye.—Dancing of the eyes indicate that you will soon cry.

The Lips.—Dancing of the lips tell of a coming quarrel.

The Hand.—Scratching of the hands tell that you are about to get some money.

The Knee.—Itching of the knee tells that you are about to sleep in a new bed.

The Elbow.—Itching of the elbow foretells that you are going to shake the hand of a stranger.

The Nose.—Itching of the nose foretells that you are going to kiss a fool.

The Hair.—Dropping of the hair tells of coming illness.

Births, Babies, and Children.

If the person who finds the baby's first tooth gives it nothing its teeth will rot as it gets them.

If you want a baby to walk soon, sweep his feet with a broom.

If you want a baby to walk soon, draw its feet in wet grass.

If you want your baby to be good, give it pot-black in milk to drink.

When a baby has hiccup, put a scrap of wet paper on its head.

Don't give away firesticks when you have a young baby, or else it will produce a bad effect on the baby.

When a woman has a young baby she must speak to no one outside.

Washerwomen must not beat the baby's clothes, lest it give it a pain in the bowels.

If you take a child through a window it will become a thief.

If an insect is killed in a house where there is a young baby, it will have a bad effect upon the baby.

Miscellaneous.

The barking of a dog while it is asleep tells the hunter of success in the coming day's chase.

If you shut a penknife half-way when a horse is galloping away from you it stops him immediately.

The removal of firesticks from side to side while boiling nut-oil diminishes the quantity of oil.

The peeling of an orange near to a sugar works diminishes the quantity of sugar.

A cricket in the house at night tells of a coming stranger.

Fireflies and moths in the house at night tell of coming strangers.

If a bug drops dead before you it is a bad sign.

If a cock crows in the early part of the night ships are near.

If a cock crows near to the door it is an indication of hasty news.

If two cocks put their heads together male friends are coming to see you.

If two hens put their heads together female friends are coming to see you.

If you turn over your money at new moon it will increase as the moon grows.

The vomiting of a pig in the early dry morning indicates coming showers of rain.

If a looking glass gets broken it causes seven years' trouble.

If anything is broken during a marriage festival the marriage life is going to be an unhappy one.

The flogging of a prickly pear situated in a provision ground causes a person who has stolen something from the ground to split up and die just as the beaten plant splits up.

If a certain plant called *wangra* is in a provision ground every thief that visits the field will die.

People who take false oaths die from swelling.

If you want to find out and kill a thief go to a grave-yard twelve o'clock at night, and push a walking-stick into one of the graves. Then say what is your request, and carrying the stick to the field which has been plundered stick it up in it.

If after leaving your house you forget anything only return as far as the gate, or bad luck will follow you.

If you are going into an uninhabited house say something before you enter, so that the spirits may know you are coming.

If you see a ghost tell no one of it for some time, or you will get sick.

People who die unbaptized become wandering spirits.

Never credit out the first thing you sell in the morning for it gives you bad luck.

Whatever you do on the first day of the year you will have to do it every day in the year.

All people who are born on the 1st day of April grow up fools.

If milk is thrown away in the fire the cow will get dry.

If you drink coffee it prevents you from studying.

If ghosts are haunting your house nail a horse-shoe over the door.

If a phantom is following you mark the letter X on the ground.

If you are travelling and do not want phantoms to interfere with you turn the inside of your coat out.

If you dream of gold it is a sign of success.

If you dream of silver it is a sign of disappointment.

A circle around the sun tell of coming rain.

A circle around the moon tell of coming dry weather.

Red clouds in the morning indicate a dry day.

Red clouds in the afternoon indicate a coming rainy day.

When the sun is shining during a shower the devil and his wife are fighting.

A mole on the neck indicate that you will be hung.

A mole on the wrist indicate that you will be handcuffed.

DAIRY FOLKLORE, AND OTHER NOTES FROM MEATH AND
TIPPERARY.

MOST of the following superstitions have long been familiar to me, but one or two I have only lately heard. Our cook is a mine of wealth as far as folklore is concerned, and, like myself, she comes from county Meath, so she is able to confirm my testimony as to Meath superstitions.

It must be remembered that from the very earliest times Ireland was noted for cattle, and Meath, with its rich pasture-land, is still an essentially grazing county; therefore nearly all charms and superstitions deal chiefly with good or bad luck with cows, milk, and butter.

With Irish peasants May Day is very important, as the good or bad luck of the year depends much on various points to be carefully observed then.

On May Eve the threshold must be strewn with "May-flowers" (marsh-marigolds). On last May Eve, only a few days ago, I saw our cook coming in with a great bunch of May-flowers, which she told me she intended strewing on the thresholds of all the entrance doors of the house, as, being May Eve, the fairies would have great power, and the May-flowers are a potent charm to prevent their entering the house. "Besides," she said, "whoever comes across the threshold, particularly that of the kitchen, must step on the flowers, and bring good luck and plenty of butter to the house."

One should always try to be the first to draw water at a well or spring on May morning. It brings good luck to the house, and plenty of butter all the year.

No one (who keeps cows) likes to be the first in the neighbourhood to light his fire on May morning, as the witches (not the fairies) take the first smoke that appears, to work spells whereby to take the butter off the milk for the whole year.

It is very unlucky to take fire out of a house on May morning. If a passer-by wants a light for his pipe, he must not carry away the sod of turf. If he does, he must bring another to replace it.

The belief that certain evil-minded persons are able to "overlook" those they wish to injure, or their possessions, is as universal in Ireland as the dread of the evil eye is in Italy.

Some years ago my brother bought a fine cow at a fair. When she was brought home I remarked that she had a piece of brown rag tied round her tail. I asked what it meant, and was told that it was to prevent her being "overlooked," and the following "true" story was related by way of illustration.

A man had a cow that was celebrated far and near for the quantity of milk she gave. Suddenly the supply stopped; the cow's milk had been "taken" by somebody, but who could have done the deed? A rich but miserly neighbour was identified by the *pishogue* (*i.e.* wise woman) of the neighbourhood as having been the one to cast covetous eyes on the cow, and to transfer her milk to his own dairy. By the woman's advice a piece of his coat was surreptitiously procured and burned, the ashes carefully collected and tied round the cow's tail, when the charm was broken and her milk was restored to her.

Occasionally the butter refuses to come when the milk is being churned. The cause of this may be that the cow, the milk, or the cow's owner has been overlooked. If the culprit is *suspected*, a piece of homespun yarn must be taken out of his or her house "unbeknownst to them;" a long thread must be broken off and nine knots tied on. Then take the thread with the knots outside the house or dairy, break off the ninth knot, throw it over your left shoulder, then bring the remainder of the yarn back into the house; get an old horseshoe, make it "real hot, but not red hot," and put it with the yarn with the eight knots on it under the churn when they are churning, and this will bring the butter back.

If, however, the person who overlooked the milk is known, go to his field before sunrise (that is, if he has any land), and take three "nips" of grass; roll them up in a piece of cloth and hang it over the dairy door. This will prevent his again overlooking the milk. If he has no land, three straws pulled out of the thatch of his house will be found equally efficacious.

Some years ago there lived an old woman in the village of Drumconrath who was always sent for when the butter would not come. Our dispensary doctor told me that she used to walk three times round the churn *widershin*, *i.e.* against the sun's course, muttering some incantation in Irish, after which there was no more difficulty about the churning.

Any one coming into the kitchen or dairy when churning is

going on must give the churn "a brash," that is, either turn the handle or take a few turns with the dash. This will prevent their taking the butter off the churn.

A red rag tied round a cow's tail will prevent her being overlooked.

I have lately come across a paper on superstitions which was sent me by a friend living in county Tipperary in the year 1888. That all local superstitions had not entirely died out she found when she tried to make butter under the superintendence of their old cook. Up to that time she thought it was merely necessary to churn the cream, but it appeared that there were still "Lurigadauns" to be circumvented :—little men, dressed in red jackets peaked all round, and jockey caps, and wearing swords, which they use instead of wands. These "Lurigadauns" have a tiresome habit of jumping down the air-hole of the churn unless you are extremely careful, and spiriting away the cream, leaving you to churn away at the skim-milk in blissful ignorance for hour after hour. They have a great objection to the smell of turf-smoke, so the best plan is to put a sod of smouldering turf under the churn and drop a few ashes into the cream, repeating a short incantation which my correspondent did not feel competent to spell. If however, notwithstanding your precautions, you have cause to suspect that the "Lurigadaun" has got into the churn, it is advisable to drop a pinch of salt into it, and he will at once decamp.

"A lady was in the habit of getting a 'wise woman' in the village to churn for her. Strange to say, she always succeeded in filling the firkin even when there was less cream than usual. One day the woman asked the lady to put off the churning till the next morning as otherwise she would not be able to come. The lady declined, and sent for a man from the yard to churn the cream. He churned, and churned, but no butter came. A second man was called in with a like result; so they sent for a third, and the three men kept on churning for the whole day, 'an niver a tashte of the butter did they see.' Shortly after this the woman died. The priest was called in, and she confessed to being a 'pishogue,' and to having a dead man's hand with which she wrought her spells. It was solemnly delivered up to the priest, as otherwise her soul could find no rest.

"A farmer in county Limerick married a 'pishogue' a few years ago. So long as she lived she made him any amount of butter,

but since her death he has not been able to make a single pat. He got the priest to ‘read over’ his cows the other day [this was written in 1888], but even that, which is supposed to be an infallible remedy, had no effect.

“The poor people here have wonderful faith in the priest, who, they believe, ‘can turn them into turkey-cocks, or fasten them to the ground.’ One girl died a few years ago of a fit, simply because, so her mother told us, she had, notwithstanding the priest’s strict injunctions, taken off a ‘gospel’ which he had hung round her neck.”

Here my friend’s Tipperary notes conclude.

I add a few miscellaneous jottings from my own knowledge.

A great charm resides in the “saghd bush” (whitethorn), and few people will venture to cut one. “A protestant man,” living in co. Meath, was about to cut down one of these “lone thorn” (which is another name for it) trees, and was cautioned that if he did so evil would befall him. He ridiculed the idea, but as he was cutting down the tree he got a thorn in his hand, which gathered; he got blood-poisoning, the inflammation went all up his arm, and he died in very great pain very soon afterwards. This happened about the year 1877.

A cure for whooping-cough is to pass the child three times round an ass (under and over its body); and for mumps, a horse’s bridle is put on the child’s head, and it is driven to a place where the horses are watered and made to drink like a horse.

The country people are terribly afraid of a species of newt which is found in boggy, marshy ground, and which they call “man-leppers,” because they believe that any one who is so unwary as to talk while stooping over a drain runs the risk of the animal jumping down his throat and taking up his abode inside him. The only remedy is to make a strong solution of salt and water, and drink it as near as possible to the man-lepper’s former home, when he will get rid of it without much delay. I believe this superstition is known also in parts of England.

I can remember an old woman buying warts from one of my brothers. She gave him a halfpenny for them. This halfpenny was then wrapped in a piece of paper, and my brother was directed to throw it away at the corner of a cross-road which we passed on our way home. I cannot recollect whether the charm was successful or not.

I was talking the other day to an elderly woman whose memory is full of old tales. Our conversation turned on the subject of the new moon, and she gave me this charm to find out who one's future husband would be.

"If you want to see whom you will marry, miss, you must go out of the house in the first quarter of the new moon (Hallows Eve is the best, but the moon must be in its first quarter, if not you will see nothing). And you must see it for the first time. When you get a sight of it kneel down, and with a *black-handled knife* lift a sod from under your right knee and from under the toe of your right foot, repeating :

“ ‘ New moon, true moon,
Happy may I be ;
Whoever is my true love
This night may I see.’

"Then repeat the Lord's Prayer ; lift a sod of earth, and with the earth you took from under your right knee and foot, hide it somewhere outside the house till you are ready to go to bed, then bring it inside. You must not speak a word to a living soul once the earth is brought into the house. Then put the earth into the right-foot stocking, and put that under your head. But be sure you speak to no one till morning. A lady my mother knew did this and told nobody till afterwards, but she dreamt of the gentleman she married, though at the time she did not know him and had never set eyes on him. Well, my mother told me that she did it too at the same time as the lady I told you of. And my mother dreamt that she went down to the kitchen, and what did she see but a tall dark young man sitting by the fire. She asked him what was he doing there, and when he would not go away she tried to push him away with the poker, but he would not go for her. She was a young girl then, and it was many years after that that she first saw my father. He could only have been about nine or ten years old when she dreamt about him, for my mother was eight years older than him. He asked her to marry him many times, but she said he was too young for her. At last he ran away with her and then she had to take him."

Here are a few superstitions given me by the same person.

"They say that if your eyebrow itches it is a sign that you will get drink ; or your nose, that you will drink with strangers ; or your

chin, that you will have a disappointment; or your breast, that you will be rejoicing; or your shin-bone, that you will go to a funeral. If the inside of your elbow itches it is a sure sign that someone will be coming to the house; or the outside of your elbow, that someone will soon be leaving. If your left ear is hot and burning it is a sign that somebody is speaking good of you; but if you have a burning in the right ear then someone is saying bad of you." (This corresponds with the German "*Rechts, was schlechts; links, das klingt.*")

If a hen comes into the house with a straw sticking to her tail, and if she drops it in the house, it is a sign that a stranger will be coming to stay; but if the hen goes out again with the straw, or bit of hay, still in her tail, it only means a call from a stranger.

If you see a pin on the floor with the point towards you, do not lift it or you will have great "sharpness" and disappointment; but if the pin's head is towards you, lift it, and you will have good luck and never want for a pin.

If when you are leaving your bedroom in the morning you remember that you have forgotten something, do not go back to fetch it once your foot is outside the door. If you do, you will have nothing but disappointments all day.

If the iron of a kettle, fender, or any other iron crackles, "tick, tick," either on or in front of the fire, it is a sure sign of a death. My informant says she heard it twice, and within six weeks there were two deaths in the house. She also told me that she was standing with the housemaid in front of a bedroom fire in a house where she was in service, and that she heard the fender crack. The housemaid did not hear it, but a few days later got a letter telling her of the death of her father.

A. H. SINGLETON.

Rathmoyle House, Abbeyleix, Ireland.

CORRESPONDENCE.

EGGS IN WITCHCRAFT.

(Vol. xiii., p. 431.)

THE following story, abridged from the newspaper report of an inquest held at Scarborough, on the 24th of September last, ought, I think, to be preserved in *Folk-Lore*. The body which formed the subject of the inquiry was that of a child of seventeen months, and was in a dreadfully emaciated condition. The mother being asked how she accounted for this, said, "I think the child is bewitched"; and on further questioning stated that she knew the woman who did it, one who had lived next-door to her up to August, 1903.

The examination continued as follows:

"*The Coroner*: She bewitched the child before she went?—
Witness: Yes, Sir, I think she did. It has never done any good since.

Was she in your house when she bewitched it?—No; but she was once in the back yard. I have heard the woman in the house ever since she went away. The child was a lovely one when it was born.

How did she bewitch the child?—By the witchcraft she practised. I know what she said.

What was that?—She said she would bewitch it by boiling eggs and mashing them.

Did she give the child the eggs?—No; she never saw it.

How could she bewitch it then?—I don't know. The talking continues when she is not in the house.

You say that she frequently appears in your house?—I don't know whether she appears or not, but there are queer shadows.

Then you mean to say the house is haunted?—Yes, Sir. There are queer shadows, and noises that nearly frighten me to death sometimes.

We must have a look at it.—It would not start when you were there. It is only when I am alone.

Through her instrumentality, I suppose?—Yes, Sir."—*Lindsey & Lincolnshire Star*, Oct. 1, 1904.

The witness further explained that the landlord turned the woman out in consequence of something that she (witness) had told him, and that the child was bewitched in revenge. The medical evidence was that death was caused by convulsions, due to rickets, the result of improper feeding. A verdict accordingly was returned.

EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A.

A HARVEST CUSTOM.

WHILE stopping recently in East Kent I witnessed a curious harvest custom. Passing through the village one Saturday night about the time of sunset I heard sounds of cheering which, repeated in regular intervals, grew nearer as I approached a large rickyard about the middle of the village, and presently there appeared a wagon loaded with corn from the harvest-field; on the top of the wagon was lying a man holding, and every now and then waving, a large bough of a tree, and shouting, "Hip! hip! hurray!" The wagon entered the rickyard followed by a man who closed the gate after him; the wagon came to a standstill and the shouting ceased. In the road were children and others, some of whom also cheered and laughed when the man on the top of the load cheered.

Upon making inquiries the following day as to what I had seen, I was informed that the ceremony was a usual one in that district when the last load of corn was carried from the last field of a farm, and that the last field would also be the biggest field, as it was usual to begin cutting the smallest field first and to end up with the biggest. The green bough carried by the shouting man on the top of the load was taken from the evergreen oak (*Ilex*) tree, the common oak, or an elder-tree. I was also informed that it was usual to *burn* the last sheaf of the harvest.

H. W. UNDERDOWN.

[Cf. "Bonnin' awd witch" in the East Riding of Yorkshire, vol. xiv., p. 92.—ED.]

REVIEWS.

THE NORTHERN TRIBES OF CENTRAL AUSTRALIA. By BALDWIN SPENCER, M.A., F.R.S., and F. J. GILLEN. London : Macmillan & Co., Limited. 1904.

FEW, if any, ethnological works have excited such widespread interest or awakened such important scientific discussions as that of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen on *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, published five years ago. The practices and the beliefs of the savages of Central Australia, as therein described, disclosed such utterly unexpected features, and indicated a condition of thought in many respects so novel, and at first sight inexplicable, that it was inevitable that further information as to these tribes and their immediate neighbours should be demanded. Fortunately the governments of Victoria and South Australia recognised the importance of the subject, and at once acceded to memorials signed by a large number of scientific men in this country to allow the distinguished explorers to make another expedition. The expenses of the expedition were generously defrayed by Mr. David Syme of Melbourne ; and the results are before the world in the present volume, which forms a fitting companion to its predecessor.

The earlier work dealt chiefly with the Urabunna, the Arunta, and the tribes most closely associated with the latter people, and forming together with it a group to which the authors refer as "the Arunta nation." The principal object of the recent expedition was to verify previous information as to the Arunta, and to extend inquiries among the tribes beyond the Macdonnell Range to the north. This object has been successfully accomplished. In *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* we have a mass of details regarding the Warramunga "nation," including the tribe of that

name, the Worgaia, Tjingilli, Umbaia, Bingongina, Walpari, Walmala, and Gnanji tribes, whose customs are in the main similar; the Binbinga and Allaua, further to the north; and the Mara and Anula on the western coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

The differences between the customs and beliefs of the more northern tribes investigated in the recent expedition and those of the Arunta are numerous and interesting. But before referring to some of these, it is worth while to note that, among the controversies aroused by the publication of the former volume, one of the most prominent concerned the former existence of group-marriage. The authors had expressed the opinion that the evidence they had obtained supported the theory of group-marriage formulated by Messrs. Fison and Howitt. This opinion was challenged by certain anthropologists at home, and thus the special attention of the authors was directed to a reconsideration of the subject. They now say that they "are, after a further study of these tribes, more than ever convinced that amongst them group-marriage preceded the modified form of individual marriage which is now the rule amongst the majority, though in all of the latter we find customs which can only be satisfactorily explained on the supposition that they are surviving relics of a time when group-marriage was universally in vogue amongst all of the tribes." In this connection emphasis must be laid on the terms of relationship. To quote the authors again: "It is absolutely essential in dealing with these people to lay aside all ideas of relationship as counted amongst ourselves. The savage Australian, it may indeed be said with truth, has no idea of relationships as we understand them." This is only what every one who believes in the evolution of civilisation would be prepared to expect. Individual relationship is, indeed, among these tribes in process of evolution. It is evolving out of group-relationship, the relationship of a group to a group, say of mothers to children, of husbands to wives, and so forth. Such a process is consonant to all we know of savage thought and custom. Civilisation has made individualism seem an essential element of thought as well as of political and social custom. Among savages all over the world it is imperfectly developed, and the dominant solidarity of the group is manifested in a hundred striking ways.

Another of their previous conclusions reaffirmed here by the authors does not seem by any means so well established, namely,

that "the customs of the Arunta and Kaitish tribes probably represent most nearly the original customs common to the ancestors of the central and north-central tribes." The more northerly tribes differ in many respects from the Arunta. While the part played by the father in bringing into the world a new human being is not understood by any of these tribes (nor, it may be added, by some of the North Queensland tribes studied by Mr. Roth), and every new child is held to be the incarnation, or reincarnation, of spirit-children left by remote ancestors,¹ still in all the tribes north of Lake Eyre and its immediate district, descent is counted for some purposes in the male line. The totem, for instance, descends thus. With rare exceptions which appear to follow the haphazard rule of the Arunta and Kaitish, male descent of the totem is found among the Warramunga, their immediate neighbours to the north. In the tribes beyond the Warramunga the rule is invariable. In all the tribes each totem has a headman (called by the Arunta *Alatunja*); and the headship of the totem likewise passes by male descent. Its importance, however, diminishes from the Arunta northward. In the Arunta nation the Alatunja has two very important functions : he is responsible for the performance of the Intichiuma ceremonies, and he has charge of the sacred storehouse where the *churinga* (sacred stones and staves) of the totem are hidden. But among the Warramunga there is no sacred storehouse, the churinga are fewer in number, are not connected, as among the Arunta, with the spirit-part of individual members of the totem, and are little used in ceremonies. Northward and eastward of the Warramunga the use of churinga and the legends about them gradually die away. The Warramunga, it is true, still perform Intichiuma as magical ceremonies for securing the increase of the totemic animal or plant. But they are not comparable in importance to those of the Arunta and Kaitish tribes. In fact, save the Worgaia tribe, the Warramunga group, or nation, only yielded "mere vestiges of this magical part of the Intichiuma." Beyond them, there are indeed traces of such ceremonies among the Binbinga, but the headman is not of necessity associated with them. "In the coastal tribes the social aspect of

¹ The Gnanji, however, are an exception, holding that women have no spirit-part, and cannot be reincarnated (p. 170). Then, whence do the baby-girls come?

the totemic groups has become more strongly emphasised, and the economical and magical aspect almost obliterated."

Now what is the interpretation of these differences? Is it, as the authors think, that the Arunta customs are most nearly the original customs of the race, or are they the furthest in development? As it may be thought that the nearer the coast the more likely would be the influence of foreign visitors, it is well to give the authors' words on this point. "If there be one thing," they remark, "which, more than any other, is strikingly true in regard to the present inhabitants of the continent, it is that, except to a very slight extent on the north-east, they have been uninfluenced by outside peoples. Even along the western side of the Gulf coast [of Carpentaria], where they are regularly visited by Malays, intercourse with the latter seems to have had no effect whatever upon them, in the matter of their customs, beliefs, and personal appearance. Except, apparently, so far as securing, in return for tortoiseshell, &c., certain things which they want from the Malays, they hold aloof from the latter. One reads of Malay influence in these parts, but our experience was that practically no such thing exists." This testimony is emphatic, and in the absence of definite and specific evidence to the contrary must be held conclusive.

The possibility of outside influence being cleared away, we must look in another direction to find the causes of evolution; for evolution there has admittedly been in one direction or the other. The country occupied by the Arunta is a barren waste of steppes, arising from the low-lying lands around Lake Eyre, and crossed at irregular intervals by ranges of mountains occasionally reaching a height of 5,000 feet. That of the Warramunga is similar, though perhaps some portion of it, such as the Macdonnell and Murchison Ranges (which are the strongholds of the southern portion of the Warramunga), are more favourable for human life. Northward, however, of the Warramunga there is a change. The scanty vegetation of the higher steppes gives way to more vivid scrub; and west of the Ashburton Range there is a long chain of waterpools. From this point the authors diverged to the north-east over plains intersected by numerous watercourses, many or most of them dry, or containing only pools. These pools, however, were alive with birds, and

except in very dry seasons the natives have no difficulty about food-supply. About 110 miles from the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria the watershed is reached; and from that point there is no lack of water. It thus appears that it is precisely in the most desolate region that the strange customs and beliefs which startled the scientific world five years ago are most fully developed.

This region has not always been so sterile and frequently impassable as it is now. "In what were probably Pleistocene, even Late Pleistocene times, at all events Post-Tertiary, the climatic conditions of Central Australia were very different from those of the present day." The mountain ranges were loftier, the rainfall was much greater, the fauna much richer. The change to the conditions of to-day is due to the gradual desiccation of the inland basin of Lake Eyre. As the climate thus became more and more unfavourable any human population must have become more and more segregated, leading to the formation of the present tribes clustered at and around the localities where human life is still, though with difficulty, maintainable. The authors do not say whether there is evidence of the existence of a human population before the present climatic conditions prevailed. It is clear, however, that the Intichiuma rites are such as are likely to have been developed in a barren country. The better supplied the country is with food and other means of livelihood, the less need would there be for magical ceremonies to produce them. Consequently we find that as we get further and further away from the Arunta country the Intichiuma ceremonies assume less and less importance, until their magical aspect practically disappears altogether on the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Now, either the ancestral Arunta carried them into the interior when they first peopled the country, or they have developed them there. The authors suppose, and it is a reasonable conjecture, that Central Australia was peopled from the north. But whatever was the condition of the climate in the interior, is there any reason to believe that further to the north on the Arunta track it was more arid and inhospitable? If not, the ancestral Arunta would have had no use for the Intichiuma considered as magical rites, and would have been unlikely to develop them there. If, however, they had reached their present home carrying with them totemic ceremonies at a time when the climatic conditions were more favourable, it is quite probable that such totemic ceremonies

would develop into magical rites for the production of a food supply when, owing to a progressive deterioration of the climatic conditions, it became more and more precarious. Or if, when they reached the interior, the climatic conditions were such as now prevail, the magical rites might have developed after they had arrived at the more inhospitable regions.

Again, the Warramunga perform the totemic ceremonies with far greater regularity and symmetry than the Arunta. Not merely are their personal decorations more realistic and expressive, but with them the ceremonies have always a well-defined sequence, illustrating the march of the totemic legend, and are not interrupted or performed in arbitrary order, as among the Arunta. This we are told "is perhaps largely to be accounted for by the fact that in the Arunta each separate ceremony is the property of some special individual who alone has the right of performing it, or of requesting some one else to do so, whilst in the Warramunga they are each and all of them the property not of an individual, but of the whole totem group." I have pointed elsewhere¹ to the analogy between the ownership of these ceremonies and that of the Kwakiutl ceremonies as one indication of the evolution of the Intichiuma in the direction of secret societies like those of British Columbia. The words I have quoted from the new account of the Warramunga ceremonies show further that there is a disintegration (such as would be caused by growing individualism) going on among the Arunta ceremonies in striking contrast to the former; and they afford an additional reason for holding the Arunta practices to be less primitive.

Moreover, not all of the Warramunga totemic ceremonies are performed with magical intent. One series at any rate, that connected with Wollunqua totem, is directed solely to placating the totem animal. The Wollunqua is a mythical beast, of which the members of the Wollunqua totem-kin appear to be regarded as descendants, or rather emanations, and which is still living. Some of the features of the ceremonies, as the authors point out, "appear to show clearly that we are dealing with what are, in reality, a primitive form of propitiatory ceremonies." And they contend that these ceremonies "are simply a special modification of" the ceremonies of other totems. It is at least equally

¹ Presidential Address, January, 1900, *Folk-Lore*, vol. xi., p. 75.

arguable that the Wollunqua ceremonies on the one hand, and the Intichiuma on the other, have diverged from a common root of totemic ceremonies entirely free from economic intention. If the magical and economic aspects of the ceremonies were equally prominent on all sides of the Warramunga, it might be reasonable to speak of the Wollunqua ceremonies as a modification of those of other totems. But this is not so. The further we go from the Arunta and their arid land, the fainter become the traces of the Intichiuma. Even among the Warramunga the ceremonies are not identical with those of the Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes. One part of them—that which is the most important, the magical part—is, as we have seen, hardly ever present, or as our authors put it "has almost entirely disappeared," leaving the *Thalammina*, as they are called by the Warramunga, simply a series of rites representing the Alcheringa history of the totemic ancestor, though it is true a magical purpose is attributed to them. Among the coastal tribes the Intichiuma can hardly be said to exist at all. "These tribes have the same totemic ceremonies as those of the interior so far as their *fundamental significance* [the italics are mine] is concerned—that is, they are one and all concerned with the Alcheringa history and doings of the old ancestors of the totems; but none of them are performed, either as they are amongst the Kaitish or as amongst the Warramunga and Tjingilli, for the purpose of increasing the food supply. Further still, we do not find that it is in any way obligatory for the headman of the totem to perform ceremonies for the increase of the totemic animal or plant, the idea being that this will take place without the intervention of any magic on their part. At the same time they can, if they care to do so, secure the increase by means of magic." Two examples of magical ceremonies are given, with neither of which are the totem-kin, who would in the interior be charged with the office, solely concerned. This absence of Intichiuma, in the sense in which they are practised by the Arunta, is attributed, no doubt rightly, by the authors to the different and much more favourable conditions of life enjoyed by the coastal tribes, rendering efforts to increase the food supply needless. But this in effect to concede my contention.

The conclusion seems to me irresistible that, so far from the Intichiuma being any part of the original stock of customs of the Central Australian natives, they have really been evolved by the

climatic conditions acting upon the necessities of the people and their pre-existing belief in the power of magic. These have given an extension and a special application of a purely local character to the totemic ceremonies. The primary, the "fundamental significance" of the totemic ceremonies is not magical but religious, using that term in a wide sense. This conclusion is strengthened when we see that the Intichiuma ceremonies are performed in respect of totems like the sun, the evening star, stone, darkness, flies, and mosquitoes. The authors admit the difficulty of understanding their performance. Difficult it is indeed to understand if we assume that the Intichiuma are part of the primitive stock of customs. But if they be simply a special development of the totemic rites, called forth by the local circumstances, it is easy to suppose that they have been also applied by mistaken analogy on the part of the Arunta to totems which, from the native point of view, do not really stand in need of magical influence for their increase, or which are, like flies and mosquitoes, positively objectionable.

Other considerations point to the same result. This is not the place to argue the priority of father-right or mother-right. It must suffice to say that group-marriage can hardly arise, though it may for a while persist, under father-right. It is found in the fullest force where mother-right, as among the Urabunna, bears sway, though even there it has begun to yield to individual marriage. Under father-right it is bound to decay and ultimately disappear. This is the case with the Arunta. They retain the relationship-names of classes, though in practice marriage is exclusively individual, except for some special occasions. It is not clear that all the exceptions indicate former group-marriage, though probably all arose during mother-right. Even in the relationship-names the Arunta show signs of progress which are not found in the more northerly tribes. For example, they have learned to distinguish in the class of wife's mothers the actual mother, whom they call *tualcha-mura*, a word for which there is no equivalent in the Warramunga or Binbinga speech, nor (if I understand rightly) in those of the coastal tribes.

Relics of female kinship (mother-right) are found in the northern tribes which are not found among the Arunta. The Arunta father has the disposal of his daughter's hand; but "in the Warramunga, Tjingilli, Gnanji, Binbinga (as to this, however,

there are contradictory statements, cf. pp. 114, 603), Mara, and other tribes the daughter is given away by her mother's brother." Corresponding with this, while among the Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish, the son-in-law is charged with the duty of avenging the father-in-law's death, among the Warramunga that duty falls to the husband of his sister's daughter, and among the Binbinga to his mother's brother's son. The position of the mother's brother in the family is an infallible index of the present or past existence of mother-right. The power of the mother's brother over his sister's daughter cannot arise during father-right; and wherever we find it coexisting with father-right we must infer the former existence of mother-right. Similarly in these northern tribes "after a man's death his chattels pass into the possession of men who are his mother's brothers or his daughters' husbands—that is, everything goes to men of the moiety of the tribe to which the dead man's mother belonged."

Space does not permit of any discussion of other beliefs and institutions, otherwise I think it could be shown that all alike they point in the same direction, namely, that the Arunta are the most advanced and not the most primitive of the Central Australian tribes. The advance which they have made is not necessarily in the direct line of civilisation; but at all events it has brought them a long way from the primitive condition of the race—much further than tribes in more favoured environment; and it is due mainly, if not entirely, to the climatic influences of the central steppes.

It will be understood that what I challenge is not the statements of the distinguished authors of these volumes, but their inferences. Doubtless, for a student who has never come into personal contact with any savage race, least of all with the race under discussion, to challenge the inferences of travellers who have seen so accurately and recorded so much, is to exhibit no little audacity. The scientific importance of the conclusions to be derived from the study of the present volume, as well as of its predecessor, must be my excuse, as it has already been that of students of more commanding authority than I can pretend to, for desiring to have the phenomena considered from a different point of view.

Like its predecessor, the new volume will be indispensable to anthropological students. Like its predecessor, it is a model of

careful, patient, and sympathetic, yet critical, observation. Its special value is that it supplies in a great measure the links which unite the beliefs and practices of the Arunta with those described by Mr. Walter Roth in his *Ethnological Studies* of the inhabitants of North-west-central Queensland, and in the valuable series of Bulletins by the same observer, now being issued by the Queensland Government. Where we have so much given us it is only human to wish for more. Again and again the reflection presents itself in reading that the one thing wanted to elucidate many points is an account of the languages spoken by these tribes, an etymological interpretation of the terms they use. The spelling of many of the words has been varied from that of the earlier volume. The tribe there referred to as the Waagai is here called Worgaia; the Chingali are here called Tjingilli. Speaking generally, the sound represented in the earlier volume by *ch* or *tch* is here represented by *tj*. Some of these changes seem somewhat arbitrary, though others may have been caused by more accurate hearing, or by reporting different dialects.

The index both in this and the preceding volume might with advantage have been fuller. Many words are not to be found at all. The word *Atjilpa* (wild cat, the name of one of the totems of the Arunta tribe, called in the earlier volume *Achilpa*), for example, does not occur in the index to either volume. Speaking of this, let me note a small slip. The *Atjilpa* is stated on p. 768 not to be eaten by the Arunta, though eaten by other tribes. This is true in general terms. But a reference to pp. 468, 472 of the *Central Tribes* shows that the restriction against eating it does not apply to the old men and women.

As in the earlier work, the tables, maps, plates, and figures are in the main excellent, though some of the photographic details are not very clear. This is partly caused by the small size of some of the views.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

LE FOLK-LORE DE FRANCE. Par PAUL SÉBILLOT. Tome Premier:
Le Ciel et la Terre. 8vo, pp. vi, 491. Paris: E. Guilmoto.
1904.

M. PAUL SÉBILLOT, the indefatigable secretary of the *Société des Traditions Populaires*, has made for himself a new claim on the gratitude of students by the comprehensive work on the folklore of France, of which this is the first volume. The object of the work is to form a cyclopædia (M. Sébillot modestly calls it an inventory) of the folklore of France and French-speaking countries at the beginning of the twentieth century. In an interesting preface he gives an account of the steps by which he was led to the compilation of so important a collection, and of the problem that confronted him in dealing with his materials. Apparently the easiest way, and in some respects the most satisfactory, would have been to transcribe the texts or, where these were very diffuse, to give summaries from all his authorities, numbering each of the extracts consecutively. He tried this plan at first, but found it inconvenient. It led to tiresome repetition, or to still more tiresome references to and fro. It was difficult to make use of traditional elements which had found their way into literature and there taken literary, rather than traditional, form. Where the traditional elements consisted of tales, there were often superstitions and customs in intimate relation with them. The stories and the superstitions or the customs helped to explain one another; and yet by what may be called the textual method there was no opportunity of showing their relations. M. Sébillot, therefore, abandoned it for the more delicate and laborious task of writing what virtually constitutes a series of monographs arranged in a systematic order. In this way he has been able to develop each subject more exactly, to weave his citations more closely together, to give them sometimes nearly complete, at other times to reduce them to their really useful and trustworthy elements, and thus to forge, as it were, one after another, the links of a chain of traditions.

The first volume is divided into four books, treating respectively of the Heavens, Night and the Spirits of the Air, the Earth, and the Underworld. These books or primary divisions are subdivided into chapters, in each of which a single department of the subject is treated. The method is to give first the stories, then the beliefs,

leading on lastly to practices of various kinds. It needs but a slight examination to show that in the hands of M. Sébillot the plan adopted for the book, which in less exact or experienced hands would have been perilous, has been eminently successful. He knows the comparative value of the various collections of which he has availed himself; and he occasionally offers useful remarks upon them. Where writers of fiction, poetry, or other forms of literature have manifestly been drawing upon folklore, he does not hesitate to cite them. Exact references to all citations are given in the footnotes, so that the reader may check every statement. Information obtained by the author's own inquiries, and not previously published in any of his numerous works, and information resting on the authority of informants, but not previously published, are also indicated. It is promised that the final volume shall contain a full index, and a bibliographical list of the works consulted.

From this slight sketch of the plan of the work and enumeration of the contents of the instalment before us, it will be seen how valuable a contribution it is to the record of European folklore. Alike as a criticism and a collection it will be indispensable to the library of every real student, who will earnestly hope that the distinguished author may have health and leisure to complete his task. I ought to add that although the main object is to present the folklore of France as it is to-day, or has been in the immediate past, the references to writers who have recorded that of earlier centuries are numerous and important. M. Sébillot has wisely avoided travelling outside French-speaking peoples, except where some very pertinent illustration could be given.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

FAITHS AND FOLKLORE. By W. CAREW HAZLITT. 2 vols.
Reeves and Turner. 1905.

THIS work is described on the title page as "a Dictionary of National Beliefs, Superstitions, and Popular Customs, Past and Current, with their Classical and Foreign Analogues, described and illustrated. Forming a new edition of 'The Popular Antiquities of Great Britain,' by Brand and Ellis, largely extended, corrected, brought down to the present time, and *Now first alphabetically arranged.*" One rubs one's eyes on reading this, wondering whether there is any use in the continued existence of the Folk-Lore Society, if so vast a design has already been carried out, and carried out too by the colossal efforts of one man, achieving more in his own single person than a whole society has been able to accomplish in a quarter of a century. But further examination enables us to reassure our members. There is still work to be done, there is still room for us to justify our existence; there is indeed still room for that great *Dictionary of British Folklore* of which Mrs. Gomme's *Traditional Games* remains as yet the only instalment. The present work consists of a sort of mincemeat, composed of chopped *Brand*, enriched with some items of pure *Hazlitt*, ranged under headings of which the first page will be a sufficient sample. It treats of Abbot of Bon Accord, Abbot of Unreason, Abingdon (Berks), Abraham-Men, Advertisements and Bills, Adventurer, Admiral of the Blue [a sobriquet for a tapster], Adoption, *Aepionis*, *Aerolites*. There is much folklore and something of trivial popular fallacies, but nothing of "faiths" in the sense of serious or religious beliefs, unless the articles on *Indulgences* and *Mary of Nazareth* count for such. We find, moreover, many purely glossarial entries, correct and otherwise; as for example, "Avenor, from Fr. *avoine*, the person who, in great towns, formerly had the superintendence of the horse-meat. See Halliwell in v." . . . "Lich-gate, or gate of the dead. The gate at or near the entrance to a church, where the funeral service was in former times often conducted." The "classical and foreign analogues" cited consist chiefly of the parallels already adduced by Sir Henry Ellis and by Aubrey, but no references to Ellis's *Brand* are given, so we are left to conjecture, or to research in Sir Henry's three volumes, to inform us whether he or Mr. Hazlitt is to be cited as the authority for such statements as, "Luck-money, a payment still

made [the italics are ours], but not in the same general way as formerly, by the salesman to the buyer at fairs and markets : "2s. a score on sheep and 1s. a head on bullocks," &c. "Seven Whistlers, The.—This superstition seems to be peculiar to Leicestershire [!]," &c. "Sun-worship.—That the Caledonians paid a superstitious respect to the sun as was the practice among many other nations is evident not only by the sacrifice at Baltein but upon many other occasions," &c. As to the pretension to being up to date, the modern additions seem to consist of extracts from *Notes and Queries*, without exact references, some cuttings from recent newspapers, and a few items from private correspondents of the editor, or so they appear to be. Thus : "Kitchen Fires.—In Yorkshire there is, or was, a house where a niece of Charles Richardson, the lexicographer, visited, and where they would think it a bad omen if the kitchen fire went out ; and I understand from this lady that it had been kept up incessantly where she had lived for some years. The custom used to be observed in many other districts." As to the bibliographical information which occasionally occurs, the many entries on Games contain no reference to Mrs. Gomme, the article on the Sin-Eater does not mention Mr. Hartland, that on Harvest-customs does not allude to Mr. Frazer. (It *does*, however, contain one good bit of first-hand observation from Rutland, by "Cuthbert Bede," in *N. and Q.*, 12th October, 1875—for once we have an exact reference.) There is no unity of design, no consistency, in the whole work ; the headings are ill-devised, the matter ill-arranged, the subjects dealt with at hap-hazard ; and any definite principle of inclusion or exclusion is indiscernible. One enraged folklorist has even been heard to observe that it is absolutely wicked to bring out such a book in the twentieth century ! corrupting its innocent youth, no doubt, with so evil an example of slipshod work and misapplied labour. Without going so far as to endorse this sentiment, it must be said that it is difficult to imagine to whom such a book can possibly be useful, unless perhaps to the purveyors of folklore paragraphs for the daily papers.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

SHORT NOTICES.

Anzeiger der Finnisch-Ugrischen Forschungen. Band. III., Heft. 1-2. 1903.

Bibliographies are always useful, especially when, as in the present case, they throw a light on researches the results of which appear in tongues not understood of the people. The part before us is the classified bibliography for 1901 of the language and folklore of the Finns, Lapps, Magyars, with an index of authors. A useful list of reviews helps to make straight the path of any one who finds the brief contents note in the pages before us insufficient, but who cannot tackle the publication in the original.

The Greater Exodus. By J. FITZGERALD LEE. Elliot Stock.

This is an attempt to show, from similarities of custom, &c., &c., between the Jews, Mexicans, and Peruvians, that South America was the original home of the human race, or at least of the Semitic family of mankind; and that the story of the Exodus is a legendary presentation of the "greater Exodus" by which the Semitic peoples migrated through South America, crossing the ocean at Behring's Straits, and thence traversing Asia till they arrived in Egypt, having thrown off numerous and important swarms by the way. The theory may at any rate boast of novelty.

Neolithic Man in North-east Surrey. By WALTER JOHNSON and WILLIAM WRIGHT. Elliot Stock. 6s. net.

This is distinctly an archæological book, and as such hardly comes within the scope of *Folklore*. The authors, however, are aware of the value of comparative folklore in throwing light on the customs of those far-away times, when neolithic man chipped his flints on Putney Heath or dug his hut circles on Wimbledon Common. They have carefully gone over and examined the district of which they treat, and they have also consulted many authorities (and in especial Mr. Gomme's *Folklore Relics of Early Village Life*) whose works might in any way further illustrate the facts and theories with which the book deals. It is evidently written *con amore*, and is furnished with a copious list of authorities referred to, and an excellent index: the illustrations also of the various flint implements found in the district are numerous and clear.

Old Ingleborough Pamphlets, No. I., by HERBERT M. WHITE (Elliot Stock, 1904), is also a "popular" archæological brochure, reprinted from the *Lancaster Guardian*, and prettily illustrated.

The *Capital of the Yorkshire Wolds*, a lecture delivered to the Hull Literary Club by JOHN NICHOLSON (*Observer* Office, Driffield), contains, *inter alia*, the writer's note on "bonnin' awd witch," in *Folk-Lore*, xiv., 92, and a few other items of local folklore.

We have also received the first part of the *Scottish Historical Review*; the current number of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, now in its fifty-sixth year of issue (a publication which ought to be searched by collectors of Irish folklore); and the first number of the *Celtic Review* (Edinburgh, Norman Macleod), containing an article by Mr. Nutt on the Critical Study of Gaelic Literature, in which he lays stress on the correspondence between the "runs" in Irish and Scottish folktales, orally collected, as evidence of the superior age of the oral versions to those contained in the Irish MSS., where a different set of formulas prevails.

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The value of the Index to archaeologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong, the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

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To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archaeological societies down to the year 1890 is needed. This work is now going through the press.

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- Lillechurch : *Sayle.*
- Lincolnshire : *Minns. See "Stampford."*
- Liskeard : *Haversfield.*
- Little Canfield : *Round.*
- Littlehampton : *Johnston.*
- Liverpool : *Elton, Lumby.*
- Llandriniog : *Thomas.*
- Llantwit Major : *Davies, Halliday.*
- London : *Beeman, Bond, Browning, Brushfield, Cust, Fletcher, Hill, Kinnis, Money, Reader, Savory, Taylor, Wash, Webb.*
- Lourdes : *Layard.*
- Lowestoft : *Casley.*
- Ludlow : *Weyman.*
- Lyminster : *Johnston.*
- Macclesfield : *Renaud.*
- Maghera : *Milligan.*

- Malay races : *Annandale, Hervey, Wray.*
 Manchester : *Axon.*
 Mannington : *Purdy.*
 Mapperton : *Gildea.*
 Mathematical instruments : *Constable.*
 Milandra : *May.*
 Methley : *Clark.*
 Middlesex : See "Enfield," "Hamp-ton-on-Thames," "Harmonds-worth," "Heston," "Isleworth," "Twickenham."
 Mills (water) : *O'Reilly.*
 Milton Abbas : *Mansel-Pleydell.*
 Mining : *Roeder.*
 Molland : *Phear.*
 Monasticism : *Gasquet, Graham, Minns.*
 Montgomeryshire : *Thomas.*
 Monuments, effigies, etc. : *Bagnall, Oakley, Bailey, Barnes, Bilsdale, Carrick, Christy, Coffey, Collier, Davies, Dickson, Dillon, Dowden, Fowler, Hartshorne, Haskett-Smith, James, Matthews, Pdeaux, Russell, Shaw, Sinclair, Stephenson, Strong, Swynnerton, Vigors.*
 Much Urswick : *Gaythorpe.*
 Much Woollton : *Gladstone.*
 Mugginton : *Currey.*
 Naples : *Gunther.*
 New Caledonia races : *Atkinson, Thomas.*
 New Guinea races : *Chalmers.*
 New Forest : *Moens.*
 New Shoreham : *Salmon.*
 Newbattle : *Carrick.*
 Newbury : *Money.*
 Newton : *Robinson.*
 Norbury : *Allen, Cox.*
 Norfolk : *André, Bolingbroke, Tingey.*
 See "Fakenham," "Hunstan-ton," "Mannington," "Nor-wich."
 Northamptonshire. See "Cogen-hoe," "Duston," "Kettering."
 Northumberland. See "Alnwick."
 Norwich : *Hope, Hudson.*
 Nottingham : *Glaisher.*
 Numismatics : *Gooper, Maurice, Pincher, Webb.*
 Alfred the Great : *Grueber.*
 Artaxerxes : *Howorth.*
 British (ancient) : *E.*
- Numismatics—
 Caria : *Hill.*
 Charles I. : *Rashleigh.*
 East India Company : *Johnston.*
 Gold : *Macdonald.*
 Greek : *Wroth.*
 Henry VI. : *Walters.*
 India : *Burn.*
 Lycia : *Hill.*
 Malwa : *King.*
 Medals : *Grueber.*
 Mesopotamia : *Covernton.*
 Persian : *Covernton.*
 Roman : *Blair, Hill, Hudd.*
 Silver : *Grueber, Patterson.*
 Syria : *MacDonald.*
 Wood (William) : *Nelson.*
- Odsey : *Fordham.*
 Okeford Fitzpaine : *Newton.*
 Orkney : *Johnston, Turner.*
 Oxford : *Gunther.*
 Oxfordshire : *Jewitt, Manning.*
 Pagham : *Guernonprez.*
 Papuan gulf races : *Holmes.*
 Paris : *Thorp.*
 Parish registers : *Phillips.*
 Parishes : *Phear.*
 Parnham : *Robinson.*
 Peasmarsh : *Livett.*
 Pennington : *Gaythorpe.*
 Penrith : *Haswell.*
 Pershore : *Taylor.*
 Persia : *Sykes.*
 Piddletown : *Dillon.*
 Place names : *Crofton, Skeat.*
 Pocklington : *Fowler.*
 Portisham : *Cunnington.*
 Portland (isle of) : *Head.*
 Pottery : *Boyson, Thompson.*
 Asia Minor : *Myres.*
 Bronze age : *Abercromby.*
 Greek : *Dawkins, Mackenzie.*
 Roman : *Hughes.*
 Sussex : *Dawson.*
 Powerstock : *Dalison.*
 Poxwell : *Barnes.*
 Prehistoric remains : *Cunnington, Moule.*
 Barrows : *Mansel-Pleydell, Worth.*
 Boat : *Sheppard.*
 Cairns : *Abercromby, Brice, Coles, Turner, Westropp, Young.*
 Camps : *Cunnington, Gray, Morgan, Owen, Solly, Spencer.*
 Circles (stone) : *Barnes, Blow, Coles, Lockyer.*

Prehistoric remains—

- Cists : *Hutcheson, Lynn, Westropp.*
 Crannogs : *Astley, Ussher.*
 Dog : *Hughes.*
 Earthworks : *Baker, Evelyn-White, Moule.*
 Forts : *Cole, Fleming, March, Westropp.*
 Human remains : *Brice.*
 Lake dwellings : *Mansel-Pleydell.*
 Palaeolithic : *Layard.*
 Mounds : *Charleson.*
 Neolithic : *Hancox, Reid, Watson.*
 Phocian : *Langton.*
 Pile structures : *Mann, Reader.*
 Roads : *Pope, Tingey.*
 Stone implements : *Allen, Andrew, Barnes, Boyson, Caillander, Cunningham, Dixon, Haddon, Knowles, Layard, March, Watson.*
 Stones (standing) : *Coles, Hanan.*
 Tumuli : *Jones.*
 Preston : *March.*
 Rampton : *Evelyn-White.*
 Ramsey : *Black.*
 Rhineland : *Lewis.*
 Rhyd Llydan : *Dawson.*
 Ribchester : *Haverfield.*
 Ringmer : *Boyson.*
 Roman remains : *Cowper, Martin, Mortimer.*
 Amphitheatre : *Barnes.*
 Armour : *Woolley.*
 Buildings : *Mertens.*
 Caerwent : *Ashby.*
 Camps : *Andrew, Evelyn-White, Hughes.*
 Carlisle : *Bower.*
 Castlecary : *Christison.*
 Clevedon : *Pritchard.*
 Coins : *Blair, Hill, Hudd.*
 Colchester : *Laver.*
 Dorchester : *Coates.*
 Exploration : *Martin.*
 Fibulae : *Cowper, Haverfield.*
 Forts : *Christison, Haverfield.*
 Inscriptions : *Haverfield.*
 Langton : *Mortimer.*
 Lighthouse : *Ely.*
 Odsey : *Fordham.*
 Pavements : *March.*
 Potter's field : *Hughes.*
 Rhineland : *Lewis.*
 Ribchester : *Haverfield.*
 Roads : *Barnes, Martin, Tingey.*
 Silchester : *Hope.*
 Vases : *Johnston.*

Roman remains—

- Villas : *Carker, Brakspear, Enge-heart.*
 Wareham : *Bennett.*
 Weights : *May.*
 Wells : *Barker.*
 Rome : *Aitchison.*
 Rothley : *Merttens.*
 Rotuma island, races of : *Duckworth.*
 Roydon : *Gould.*
 Rutlandshire : *Haines.*
 St. Bees : *Parker, Thompson.*
 St. Davids : *Fryer.*
 St. Ives : *Evelyn-White.*
 Salcombe Regis : *Morshead.*
 Salisbury : *Wordsworth.*
 Scotland : *Coles, McDonald, Mac-Donald.* See "Banffshire," "Glasgow," "Kintyre," "Orkney," "Tealing," "Tyrie."
 Seaford : *Boyson.*
 Seals : *Millar, Vigors, Warren Wordsworth.*
 Selby : *Fowler.*
 Shap : *Whitwell.*
 Shermanbury : *Johnston.*
 Shifnal : *Fletcher.*
 Shingay : *Palmer.*
 Shrewsbury : *Dillon, Drinkwater, Fletcher, Morris, Parry, Southam.*
 Shrivenham : *Niven.*
 Shropshire : *Auden, Fletcher, Philips, Wylie.* See "Albright," "Battlefield," "Claverley," "Ludlow," "Shifnal," "Shrewsbury," "Whitchurch," "Worfield."
- Siam : *Lyle.*
 Sidbury : *Cave, Morshead.*
 Sidmouth : *Morshead.*
 Silchester : *Hope.*
 Somersetshire : *Bates, Coleman, Fry, Spencer.* See "Bath," "Bawdrip," "Broomfield," "Castle Neroche," "Clevedon," "Clifton Burwals," "Evercreach," "Glastonbury," "Stokeleigh," "Wadham," "Winsham."
 Spoons (silver) : *Trapnell.*
 Staffordshire : *Boyd, Wrottesley.* See "Chell," "Eccleshall," "Weston-under-Lizard."
 Stamford : *Gruuber.*
 Stoke Poges : *Fowler.*
 Stokeleigh : *Morgan.*
 Stonehenge : *Blew, Lockyer.*
 Suffolk : *Hancox, Redstone.* See "Ipswich," "Lowestoft."

- Sundials : *Acland.*
 Surrey : See "Chislehurst," "Weybridge."
 Sussex : *Breach, Dawson.* See
 "Battle," "Bodium," "Chester," "Cuckfield," "Homes-tall," "Horsham," "Ickles-ham," "Lewes," "Littlehampton," "Lyminster," "New Shore-ham," "Pagham," "Peasmash," "Ringmer," "Seaford," "Shermanbury," "Warningcamp," "Worthing."
 Swaffham Prior : *Allix.*
 Swavesey : *Palmer.*
- Taplow : *Read.*
 Tarrant Rushton : *Penny.*
 Tawton (South) : *Lega-Weekes.*
 Tealing : *Dowden.*
 Tewkesbury : *Bazeley, Dowdeswell, Were.*
 Thirlmere : *Collingwood.*
 Tilbury (East) : *Round.*
 Tiley : *Waller.*
 Tin : *Rogers.*
 Tollard Royal : *Barnes.*
 Tolleshunt Major : *F.*
 Torrington (Great) : *Doe.*
 Truro : *Jennings.*
 Twickenham : *Kirby.*
 Tyrie : *Young.*
- Urswick : *Gaythorpe.*
- Venice : *Tabor.*
- Wadham : *Grueber.*
- Wales : *Allen, Haverfield, Lewis, Moore, Owen, Phillips.* See
 "Aberystwyth," "Anglesey," "Brecon," "Caerwent," "Car-no," "Gilestone," "Gresford," "Guilsfield," "Llandrinio," "Llantwit Major," "Montgomeryshire," "Rhyd Llydan."
- "St. Davids," "Ystafell-fach," "Ystrad Yw."
 Walmer : *Woodruff.*
 Warboys : *Ladds.*
 Wareham : *Bennett.*
 Warningcamp : *Johnston.*
 Westmorland : *Farrer, Hodgson, Hughes, Morris.* See "Bampton," "Brougham," "Kendal," "Shap."
 Weston-under-Lizard : *Bridgeman.*
 Weybridge : *Kershaw.*
 Witchurch : *Thompson.*
 Whitechurch Canonicorum : *Druitt.*
 Wills : *Brown, Gaskoin, Rice.*
 Wilts : *Powell.* See "Box," "Cran-borne Chace," "Durnford," "Durrington," "Erlestoke," "Great Bedwyn," "Knowle," "Purton," "Salisbury," "Stone-henge."
 Wimborne : *Fletcher.*
 Winsham : *Bond.*
 Wistow : *Noble.*
 Woad : *Plouright.*
 Woodsford : *Moule.*
 Wookey Hole : *Mansel-Pleydell.*
 Wootton Glanville : *Mayo.*
 Worcester : *Floyer.*
 Worcestershire : *Humphreys.* See
 "Pershore," "Worcester."
 Worfield : *Walters.*
 Worthing : *Haverfield.*
- Yorkshire : *Bilson, Bowles, Brown, Clay, Cole, Collier, Farrer, Glynne, Hawkesbury, Humberston, Sheppard, Poppleton, Stephenson, Wordsworth.* See "Burlington," "Fishlake," "Hardwick," "Harpham," "Kirklees," "Langton," "Methley," "Pock-lington," "Selby."
 Youghall : *Buckley, Dug, Orpen, Westropp.*
 Ystafell-iach : *Lewis.*
 Ystrad Yw : *Lloyd.*